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THE LESSON OF THE NAVAL REVIEW.

BY THE HON. HILARY A. HERBERT, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

THE grand stand upon which President Cleveland stood when he opened the Columbian Exposition at Chicago fronts towards the great lake which is there fringed by a façade crowned with statuary. Behind the President, and to the right and the left of him, stood buildings which in their splendor and beauty seemed the work of some great magician. Looking upon these and then upon the sea of happy and expectant faces that greeted him, Mr. Cleveland said :

"We have built these splendid edifices, but we have also built the magnificent fabric of a popular government, whose grand proportions are seen throughout the world. We have made and here gather together objects of use and beauty, the products of American skill and invention; but we have also made men who rule themselves. It is an exalted mission in which we and our guests from other lands are engaged, as we coöperate in the inauguration of an enterprise devoted to human enlightenment, and in the undertaking we here enter upon we exemplify in the noblest sense the brotherhood of nations."

There is not a phase of the naval display which, at the water's edge of our country, formed so fitting a prelude to the opening ceremonies of the great exposition that does not inspire such thoughts. Certainly no scene was more beautiful, and none more suggestive than that which greeted the eyes of those on board the "Dolphin" as she steamed into Hampton Roads on the morning of

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the 22d of April. The air was soft, and the sun shone brightly, as the little ship ploughed her way into these historic waters. Within this generation there was fought here the famous battle between the "Merrimac" and the "Monitor." It was that battle which had put the work-shops of the world to work at ships and guns of new device, creating a revolution in naval architecture, the latest results of which were the splendid men-of-war that now lay so peacefully side by side in the famous roadstead.

The "Merrimac," the Confederacy, and the great civil war had passed into history, the Union of the States had been preserved and strengthened, the sting of defeat and the shouts of victory had been forgotten, and now those who had ranged themselves on the side of the Confederacy were vying with those who had fought for the Union in doing honor to the flag that floated over the "Dolphin." A few miles further on, at the Norfolk Navy Yard, lay the U. S. S. "Constellation," successor to the old ship that, in 1799, had fought to death the French ship "L'Insurgente." Now there lay here four beautiful men-of-war floating the tri-color and joining in honors to the American flag.

In 1807 there had sailed out of this roadstead for the Mediterranean the U. S. S. "Chesapeake." When only a few miles beyond the capes she was overtaken by the British ship "Leopard." A demand was made for three men claimed as deserters from a British vessel, and, upon a refusal by the American, the English ship opened a furious fire upon the "Chesapeake," which, being unprepared for the attack, was compelled to surrender. This outrageous act of the British officer, though at first disavowed by his government, was a prime cause in rousing that feeling of indignation which, eventually, in 1812, compelled the President of the United States to declare war against Great Britain. In singular contrast with the conduct of the commander of the "Leopard," here now, in these waters where that ship had watched for the departure of the "Chesapeake," the commander of the British fleet, Sir John Hopkins, was distinguishing himself by the urbanity and zeal with which he labored for the success of the great International Review.

Here, in this beautiful sheet of water, lay at anchor men-of-war representing nine nations, six of them, Great Britain, Spain, Italy, Russia, the Netherlands and Germany, monarchical in form. As the "Dolphin" hove in sight there was not a cloud in the sky, and each

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of the thirty war-ships in view seemed hung with rainbows of many colors. They were all dressed in the gay colors of Italy in honor of the twenty-fifth anniversary of King Humbert's marriage. Amid the thousands of American citizens who lined those shores and manned ships in that harbor there was not one who was not intensely devoted to republican government, yet it is probably true that there was not one among them all who criticised the bestowal of these honors upon a king. All felt that this gathering typified what was well called by Mr. Cleveland the "brotherhood of nations." To our officers and sailors these honors were not, perhaps, as striking, because they were not as novel, as to the civilians who had never witnessed such a scene. There is a code of honor and of courtesy prevailing among naval officers of all flags that is the happy growth of centuries. It is civilizing, refining, and has a constant tendency, when properly observed, to promote peace and good-will among the nations of the earth. This code the American naval officer is happily fitted to practise by the training he receives at Annapolis. A nation's navy is the right arm of its diplomacy. There is a constant call upon the naval officer to practise the amenities of life in intercourse with men of other nations. He is often obliged, by the duties of his position, to receive and to entertain, not only naval officers, but often distinguished civilians. The British Government furnishes certain of its fleet commanders an entertainment fund. One who is familiar with the exigencies which make such frequent demands upon our fleet commanders, cannot but regret that the United States has not some similar provision of law. Such an appropriation, however, should always be carefully restricted.

The dinners given on board the American ships at the Rendezvous and the Review were paid for by the Government. Congress appropriated funds for them, because the foreign ships were the invited guests of the nation, and our officers could not afford, from their own private means, to entertain on so large a scale.

The boat races, and friendly musical contests, that formed such a pleasant feature of the gathering at Hampton Roads, were also not entirely without precedent. Neither was there anything especially uncommon in the number of ships that were assembled. In numbers the combined fleets did not compare with the Spanish Armada, nor with the vessels that fought at Trafalgar,

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nor even with the French fleet of more than one hundred modern vessels that assembled for practise off Cherbourg and Brest in 1891, nor with the great British fleets that have more than once in later years manœuvred off the coast of England. Nor is this the first occasion upon which the ships of different nations have assembled to celebrate a great event. Sixty ships of war, all told, belonging to several nations, assembled at Barcelona at the opening of the exposition in 1888, sixteen of these being battle-ships; and at the Columbus celebration in Genoa, in September last, there were thirty-nine men-of-war, including thirteen battle-ships. But at Barcelona and Genoa there was no concert of action, no common programme, no commander whose directions or requests were followed. Each squadron was there to lend its presence and that was all.

The combined fleets of nine nations, the Brazilians having come in and the Spaniards having left with their caravels for New York on Sunday, set sail from Hampton Roads on Monday, the 24th of April, at about 10 o'clock. The "Dolphin" did not take a place in the line but steamed alongside for a time, and at 12 o'clock fell back half way down the line, signalled to the fleet "good-by and a pleasant voyage," and then steamed on ahead. When half a mile in advance Captain Buckingham, for a better view of the fleet, turned the head of the little vessel gradually across the lines made by the advancing columns, and then was witnessed from her decks a scene that has no parallel in history. There were two lines of vessels, almost perfect, the starboard column headed by the English ship "Blake," followed by the ships of seven other foreign countries; the port column headed by the "Philadelphia" and composed of thirteen American vessels. All were steaming at the prescribed rate, under command, by courtesy, of the American Rear-Admiral Gherardi. No question of rank or precedence and no desire to be independent marred the programme. It was an illustration of "brotherhood of nations." So of the Review in New York harbor on the 27th. Each ship took its prescribed place, manned its yards and saluted the President as he passed by.

A little over seventy years ago, so hostile was the feeling on the Continent of Europe to republican government that Russia, Prussia and Austria entered jointly into a project, which happily proved futile, to aid Spain in reasserting her dominion over cer-

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tain of her revolted colonies in America, solely because they had established over themselves governments republican in form. How suggestive it was that Russia and Germany (comprising Prussia) had now sent their ships to these waters to join with the ships of republican France, and of South American republics (all to act under the command of an American Admiral), in doing honor to him who had discovered the continent which is now the home of republics. Especially noticeable and memorable now was the blue cross of Russia. Russia is the most absolute of monarchies, yet no flag was more welcome than hers. America will never forget that, in the trying time when the United States seemed about to be rent in twain by civil war, the great Muscovite Empire was the steadfast friend of the Union.

But the crowning, and, in many respects, the most interesting feature of the whole was the land parade of the sailors on the 28th of April in the streets of New York. When the proposition to have such a parade was first mentioned the naval officers consulted received it with, to say the least, doubts and misgivings. Our naval officers are, fortunately, conservative; they have been trained to stand *supra antiquas vias*, and they feared that there would be failure in an attempt to get so many foreign troops to land, with arms in their hands, on American soil. No such thing had ever been tried or thought of. But when it was decided upon, the officers who had doubted made it a success. And the shore parade, while it was the most significant act of good will to the American people and American institutions, was also the crowning lesson of the Review. The crowds who looked on, no doubt, concurred with patriotic unanimity in the idea that the Yankee sailor was entitled to the prize, but every thoughtful observer was impressed with the idea that if our men should ever come to blows with their friends who were behind them in line, they could never hope to win except with a fair supply of ships and guns. The stalwart Russians, with their sturdy tramp; the business-looking Britons, keeping step to "God Save the Queen;" the quick-stepping Frenchmen; the Germans, with their natty uniforms; the Italians, and, indeed, all the detachments of the unique body of men were drilled and disciplined into fighting machines. Never was such a sight witnessed before as the sailors of nine different nations marching together, and never was anything better calculated to impress upon those who saw

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them the lesson that the American sailor can keep his place upon the seas only when his Government is behind him.

The most pleasing and singular feature of this parade was to see Russians and Englishmen, who have for years been watching each other with jealous eyes over the mountain ranges that divide their Eastern possessions, marching one after another, and Germans and Frenchmen, who are sworn enemies at home, following each other with friendly footsteps on American soil. Italy and Germany are said to be in league with Austria against Russia and France, and here, in the streets of New York, Italy, France, Germany and Russia were all in friendly competition for the favor of bystanders. How naturally comes the thought that the United States, which is now leading all the civilized world in the direction of free institutions, is to lead in that path that shall bring the people of the earth to universal peace. In that direction our past history points us. England, though our mother country, was long our bitterest foe. For years after the Revolution she refused to make a treaty consummating the results of the War of Independence, and she was still smarting under the loss of her colonies when her persistent assaults on our rights goaded us into the War of 1812. Great Britain never formally renounced the right of search, on account of the claim of which the War of 1812 was fought, until 1858. But the two countries have made peace at last. Mutual good will and respect have been testified in many ways, and never more significantly than at the naval review. In the waters of New York, the same in which so many thousands of American prisoners died in British prison ships during the Revolution, Sir John Hopkins, the British Admiral, flashed out on the night of the 27th of April, 1893, the figure of George Washington, a more striking act of amity even than the reverential visit paid some years ago by Lord Coleridge, the Chief Justice of England, to the tomb at Mount Vernon. The most substantial proof that there is to be enduring peace between us is furnished by the arbitration between the two countries of the Alabama claims in 1872, of the Fisheries question at a later date, and of the Fur Seal question now being discussed at Paris. Arbitration has become the mode of settling disputes between Great Britain and the United States. It is fondly hoped that we will adhere to this method, and that in the near future the examples set by the two leading countries of the world may be followed by other nations.

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When it shall become common among nations to substitute international tribunals for the arbitrament of the sword, the philanthropist may look forward with hope for the coming of the time bodied forth in that dream of the poet—

> "When the war-drum throbbed no longer and the battle-flags were furled
> In the Parliament of Man—the Federation of the world."

That happy time, however, is yet in the far distant future. Dreamers have been for years predicting its speedy coming, but the world's bloody record of battles in this nineteenth century warns all practical men that its realization can be anticipated only from the refining influences of generations yet to be. It is undoubtedly the mission of our Government to lead in that direction. The Geneva arbitration was the first step. That was followed by the commissions to arbitrate the fisheries and fur seal questions, and now by the international review which has presented the remarkable spectacle of the sailors of many nations, armed to the teeth against each other at home, coming together upon American soil to celebrate in a manner never before witnessed the victories of peace achieved by the freest people in the world. Our country, in this great onward march of the world, is in the lead. She must keep her place, and to do so her people must remember that the Geneva arbitration was achieved only after the terrific battles of our civil war had demonstrated to the world the fighting capacity of our citizen soldiery, when the fortunate termination of that war had left us one great people, and when the American navy, suddenly improvised upon new lines to meet the exigencies of that war, though crude and clumsy in many respects, was believed to be the most powerful in the world. The real Quaker who will submit to insult rather than resent it by violence is not a successful peacemaker among men. Neither can a nation which adopts a Quaker policy, however great it may be in natural resources, expect in this age of the world that its international disputes shall be arbitrated by international tribunals, or hope to keep the lead in the great work of bringing about the "brotherhood of nations." If America would keep her own peace with all the nations of the earth and maintain her place in the vanguard of civilization she must be at all times prepared for war. This is the lesson of history emphasized by the Rendezvous and the Review.

HILARY A. HERBERT.

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WHO ARE THE CHIEF WEALTH-PRODUCERS?

BY W. H. MALLOCK, AUTHOR OF "THE NEW REPUBLIC," "IS LIFE WORTH LIVING?" "A ROMANCE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY," ETC.

THE economic theory which forms for millions the basis of the views and feelings which they hold and cherish with regard to social problems, is that all wealth is produced by those kinds of toil or exertion of which all healthy men are capable, and to which the great majority of men, in every community, must and do devote themselves, and that consequently all private fortunes, or the exceptional riches of a minority, are simply an abstraction from the social product of the majority. Some of those who hold this theory look on this abstraction as mere legalized fraud or robbery. Others consider that for some reason, never sufficiently explained, the rich man has somehow a right to possess his riches, though he generally deserves to be denounced for the manner in which he uses them. But at all events they, all of them, consider that the wealth of which great private fortunes are composed cannot possibly have been produced by the men who, fairly or unfairly, acquire it; and that a great fortune enjoyed by one man means necessarily the possession by one man of things that have been produced by many men.

This theory is at the bottom of nearly all the social agitation of to-day, creating confusion and misunderstanding amongst men who ought to understand each other, rendering futile and mischievous much practical effort, and turning much generous and genuine feeling into absurdity. For, although when looked at superficially, it has the air of a truism, it embodies in reality the gravest of all speculative errors which, in our day, have affected any practical problem; and it is high time that the exponents of economic science should rouse themselves, should expose its true character in clear and precise language, and should once for all expel it from the popular mind by establishing in its place the antagonistic truth that corresponds to it. For the political economists are mainly to blame for its prevalence; and though it

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may not be correct to say that they themselves are guilty of it, it could never have spread itself as it has done if it had not been for the inaccuracy and incompleteness both of their thought and their terminology with regard to a certain fundamental part of their subject. My aim, in the present paper, is to point out exactly what this inaccuracy and this incompleteness are; but first let me state briefly what the truth is, by which the error I have just indicated requires to be displaced.

If the error has at first sight the air of a truism, the truth at first sight will have the air of a paradox; for it is this—that instead of the riches of the few being taken from the products of the many, the present competence of the many is taken from the products of the few; and that not only do the few as a body produce the whole of the wealth which they enjoy, but that they produce as a body every increase of wealth which is year by year enjoyed by the many also. Great fortunes of certain kinds—such as those of stockbrokers—*are* no doubt abstractions; they represent the *capture* of wealth, not the actual *creation* of it; but the wealth that in such cases is captured is principally, if not entirely, wealth produced by the few, and captured from the few; and even were this not so, it could make no difference to the main fact I am asserting. For before wealth can be captured, it must have been produced by some one; and what I assert is that in all modern countries—in such at least as have been enriched by modern industrial progress—a minority produces more wealth than the majority; that it produces the entire wealth of the richer classes, and a part, that is yearly larger, of the wealth of the poorer classes; and that so far are the few from being the plunderers of the many, that the many, economically speaking, are the mere pensioners of the few. I said that at first sight such a statement has the air of a paradox; but it will appear in a different light when its real meaning is considered.

In the United States the same number of men who in the year 1840 produced wealth to the value of a thousand million dollars a year produce at the present day wealth to the value of two thousand three hundred millions. That is to say, in proportion to the number of producers, the product in fifty years has increased fifty-three per cent., whilst if we carry back our inquiries to the beginning of the present century we shall find that it has increased by at least sixty-six per cent. Now this increase in the

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productivity of the producers must be due to some cause or causes which are in operation now, and were not in operation then. In other words, for every hundred million dollars produced in the United States in the year 1893 sixty-six millions are due to causes which were not in operation in the year 1800; and as to what these causes are, there can, of course, be no doubt. They are scientific invention and discovery, and improved methods of dividing and applying labor. But these improvements have not been the work of chance, or of nature. They have been brought about by the deliberate and persistent action of men, and the millions which we just now said to be due to the improvements have been really due to the men by whom the improvements were made.

Let me pause for a moment to insist on this last point. When it happens—as happens in all modern production—that single products are produced by the action of great numbers of men, we cannot say, as we could under simpler conditions of industry, that in a literal sense any one man produced any one thing. Accordingly, unless we maintain that the products are produced by nobody, we are obliged to say that each man produces so much of the product as is added to the total when he joins in the process of production, or so much as would disappear from the total if he withdrew from the process of production. Thus, if we found that at any given period a thousand men produced cloth to the value of two thousand dollars a day, and another man arrived on the scene, who by controlling and directing them, enabled a thousand and one men to produce cloth to the value of six thousand dollars a day, we would say that this thousand-and-first man produced every day cloth to the value of four thousand dollars. This thousand-and-first man may be taken to represent all those men by whose action industrial productivity has increased during the present century; and they, like that one man, must be held to be the actual producers of whatever additional wealth is, through their action, produced by the same number of men. These men who, as will appear presently, are a very small minority, correspond, broadly speaking, with the wealthier classes; and out of every hundred million dollars produced in the United States to-day, these men produce at least sixty-six millions.

When the truth on which I am insisting is explained in this

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way, the paradoxical aspect which it at first wears disappears. In the eyes even of those who are most inclined to dispute it, it ceases to be an absurdity which they can ignore; it appears in the light of a fallacy which it is necessary to refute; and the sole ground on which it can be attacked becomes at once apparent. That ground is as follows: It may be urged—and indeed it constantly is urged—that all kinds of industrial action are to be classed together, as alike depending on social conditions in which we all share. No invention, no discovery, it is said, however new and important, is the work of any one man. The man who nominally makes it has used the inventions and the discoveries of others; and he could never have made it if those others had not gone before him, and if society in general had not coöperated with them in bringing their ideas to a practical issue. Hence, it is argued that, however great may have been the effect of the action of a few men, their power of acting was derived entirely from society, and that society has a right to whatever wealth may result from it; in fact, that society as a whole has virtually produced the wealth—that the wealth is a social product.

I shall show presently that to argue in this way is about as accurate and scientific as it would be to say of an anthem which Handel had just composed, and was himself playing on an organ, that it was the social product of the musician and the man who blew the bellows; or to say of a portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, that it was the social product of the painter and the man who prepared the canvas. But though the argument is really absurd, it is to a certain extent plausible; and it can be properly refuted only by examining it with some care. And this brings me back to what I said about the political economists: for here is the point with regard to which I taxed them with inaccuracy and incompleteness; and it is to these deficiencies on their part, both in analysis and language, that the plausibility of the above argument is due.

In the accepted language of political economy all industrial action is classed under the head of labor, and if any economist is asked by what kind of action these improvements were brought about which have made labor more productive he will answer by labor of certain special kinds—by the labor of invention, the labor of scientific discovery, or the labor of superintendence. These are the phrases employed by J. S. Mill, and though later writers have

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attacked and amended many of his doctrines they have all of them to this day adhered rigidly to his analysis and terminology, by regarding and treating all kinds of industrial exertion as so many manifestations of the same force which is exerted when a man ploughs a field, carries a sack, builds a wall, or employs a tool at a turning lathe. They are one and all classed under the common heading of labor, and the higher kinds, which are particularized by the term *ability*, are regarded as nothing but labor that is highly skilled.

Now if this were merely a question of scientific terms, such an inclusive use of the term *labor* might be possibly quite admissible, and might in itself lead to no misapprehensions. Political economy, however, is a science that can be of no value, except in so far as its teachings are apprehended by practical men generally; and it happens that the term *labor*, as used by practical men, has a widely different meaning from that which the economists give to it. The economists use it so as to include ability. Practical men use it so as to specifically exclude ability. There can be about this no manner of doubt. Let us, for instance, take the case of the sewing-machine. The production of every sewing-machine in existence must, if we use the language of the economists, be said to be largely due to the labor of the principal inventor, namely, the late Mr. Singer, who, by this so-called labor, produced for himself one of the largest fortunes in America; but no politician who in any industrial dispute were to give himself out as representing the claims of labor would be understood, in any quarter of the civilized world, as professing to represent the claims of such persons as Mr. Singer. As soon as the ability of such persons succeeds and enriches them with its proper fruit—that is to say, as soon as its true character shows itself—it is at once excluded in the thought of the world generally from the kinds of exertion which the world generally means by labor. And the world in general is perfectly right. If the term *labor* is used in the sense which, for all practical purposes, is universally attached to it, labor and ability *are* two distinct things. But here comes in the mischief produced by the error of the economists. Since the economists persist in speaking and conceiving of labor as including all kinds of industrial exertion, and since what the world means by labor does not include ability, it has come about that, in the thought of the world generally, ability is not regarded as

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any kind of industrial exertion, or as forming any factor in the production of the "social product."

The error to which more immediately this misconception is due is an error in economic language; but the real source of it is an error in economic analysis—an overlooking of the real difference between the faculties exercised by the inventor, the discoverer, the director, on the one hand, and the mechanic, the ploughman, or "the toiler," on the other. The difference is not one of greater or less skill. The invention of a new machine does not represent a development of the faculties employed in giving a perfect finish to its parts. Nor does the difference consist, except in an accidental way, in the fact that one kind of exertion is mainly mental, and the other muscular; for there are many kinds of exertion recognized by everybody as labor (such for instance as that of a pointsman on a railway) in which the mind is the principal thing employed. The real difference is this: *Labor is the industrial exertion of a single man on some single piece of work, and on that single piece of work only,* no matter what this may be—the carrying of a sack or the wheeling of a barrow, which requires no training at all; or the finishing of a chronometer, which requires the training of half a life-time. *Ability is the industrial exertion of a single man, which affects simultaneously the labor of many men,* multiplying or improving the results of it in each case.

This is the fundamental distinction—entirely neglected by the economists—between the two great forces which, in the modern world, produce wealth; and nearly all the confusion which prevails to-day with regard to economic questions is due to the fact that this distinction has been overlooked, and that the two forces have been treated as varieties of one. Unless this distinction, and the exact nature of it, are recognized, and these two forces are separated in thought and name, it is as impossible without confusion or self-contradiction to either explain the phenomenon of modern industrial progress as a whole, or to discuss the problems to which it has given rise, as it would be to discuss or explain the theories of modern chemistry on the assumption that the universe was composed of the traditional four elements. But the moment we recognize that there are involved not one force but two, and that they differ from one another in the way above described, what before was impossible becomes simple and easy. We can at

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once see and understand the force which represents the element of change in industrial productivity, and to which all the increase of wealth in the modern world has been due; which is at the present day producing the greater part of it; and which, being the natural monopoly of a small class, explains how the minority are creators not of their own wealth only, but of a large portion of the wealth of the majority besides.

To establish this point fully, as against hostile criticism, would require a book—and I hope to devote one to this subject—instead of a short article; for industrial ability is of various kinds, and unless these are all fully considered the nature of their operations cannot be made clear, nor the extent to which, and the exact sense in which, each is a natural monopoly. But enough can be said, even in the course of a few pages, to indicate the principal facts which such an examination would bring home to us.

In the first place, then, it will become evident to us that industrial ability—or the faculty by which one man assists the labor of an indefinite number of men—may be either the genius of the scientific discoverer, the ingenuity of the inventor, the critical shrewdness of the man who discriminates a useful invention from useless ones and supplies or procures capital for putting it into use; or it may be the enterprise or tenacity of purpose that pushes a business and overcomes difficulties; or the gift of managing men by which labor is economized; or it may be the gift of constructive imagination by which labor is directed to the accomplishment of new ends. This is a rough classification, but it is sufficient for our present purpose, and it will enable the reader to realize the following truth—that all the various kinds of ability indicated are fundamentally gifts of character, not the results of education. Let a hundred men from childhood be brought up in the same school, let them all be devoted to the same branch of knowledge, let them enjoy to the fullest what is called "equality of opportunity," and it will be found that not only is there no equality in the amount of knowledge they acquire, but that there is hardly any resemblance in the practical uses to which they will be able to put it. Two men may have worked together in one laboratory. One will never do more than understand the discoveries of others. The other will discover, like Columbus, some new world of mysteries. And as in discovery, so in action—so in the management of men—education does noth-

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ing to equalize differences of men's powers. Rather it tends to show them, whilst, as for invention, some of the greatest inventors of the world have been men who can hardly be said to have had any education at all. Arkwright, for instance, had not even the education that might have come from being apprenticed to the industry which his genius revolutionized.

And here let us us notice how skill is something entirely different. Skill is entirely an acquisition—the result of training or education; and is often a social, rather than an individual product—as may be seen if we look back to the earlier conditions of industry, when each craft was a "mystery," and when, in the case of trades localized in the same place for generations, each worker was familiarized from childhood with methods, and tricks of dexterity, not known elsewhere. The hardware industries in certain English towns afford remarkable examples of this. Mere skill in such industries was perhaps greater at the beginning of the present century than it is now. And yet such are the limits of skill that the development of the steam engine was for a long time retarded by the difficulty experienced in making the cylinders of engines with anything like sufficient accuracy; and if the world had had to depend upon skill alone the steam engine as we now know it would be still an utter impossibility. What made it possible was the ability of a small number of men, among whom may be mentioned Maudslay—the inventor or introducer of the slide-rest. These men, by the improvements they introduced in the machinery by which machines are made suddenly endowed thousands of skilled laborers with a power of accurate workmanship which was never before attainable. This power descended on them from the inventors like the fires of an industrial pentecost, and their efficiency, which was the slowly-matured social product of centuries, was by a force acting outside themselves multiplied a hundred fold within a few years.

Now when once an invention, such as that of Maudslay, is made, it becomes, unless it is patented, public property, and this fact introduces us to another set of considerations. We shall find if we analyze the results of ability, that they divide themselves into three classes: first, those which the author can keep to himself by means of a patent or otherwise, but which if not protected can be made use of by other people; secondly, those which are not susceptible of being patented or otherwise monopolized, but

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which as soon as they are achieved necessarily become common property, such as the discovery of some new natural principle, or some exceedingly simple process; and, lastly, those which not only cannot be protected, but do not require protection, because they can never become common property, or be separated from the able man, such as the results on a business of an able man's management or enterprise. It is only when we deal with the second of these classes of results that we find any plausibility remaining in the socialistic argument which merges the functions of ability in those of social labor. A savant who discovers some new natural principle, and publishes the fact in a scientific treatise, can hardly claim to be the producer of any portion of the products which result from the application of this principle to industry. But the reason is that a discoverer of this kind rarely sees or cares to see farther than the natural principle itself, leaving it to others to make a practical application of it;* and the moment we come to consider the practical applications of a discovery we shall find that these are the monopoly of ability of other kinds—the ability that invents new machines, new apparatus, new appliances, new commodities and the ability that manages men. There can, it is true, be no monopoly of knowledge; but the wider and more complex knowledge becomes, the more marked is the monopoly of the powers that enable men to command and use it. The two kinds of ability then that directly affect industry we may call, for the sake of brevity, *inventive ability* and the *ability of enterprise*; and it will be seen that neither of these can, in any practical sense, be regarded as merged in the common social exertion of the community, but that they are both of them the natural monopoly of a small and distinct class. The electric light, for instance, or the telephone, are no more the social products of the present age than "Hamlet" was the social product of the whole population of England at the time of Elizabeth; and a community can no more be said to be the author of what the man of ability invents than it can be said to enjoy the income which the man of ability spends.

All these points require to be carefully worked out; but their

* The effect, for instance, of Maudslay's slide rest was the same on all mechanical labor of a certain kind. Every workman of a certain grade received equal help from it; whilst a new natural principle may be known by everybody; but no workman will be assisted by it in any way till it is seized on and utilized by some one able man, or a few able men.

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general bearings can be perceived from even this brief mention of them. It will be perceived how distinct ability is from labor, at once in the nature of its operation and in the class of persons possessing it; how the ability of one man is, in productive power, out of all proportion to the labor of one man; and how it may, without any greater effort being involved, produce results which are a thousand times as great.

Perhaps the best means by which, in a short space, I can elucidate the subject will be by calling the attention of the reader to a beautiful and interesting illustration, which will throw a yet further light on the various kinds of ability involved in the production of commodities, and the relation they bear to labor, and to each other. The illustration I refer to is that afforded by the business of the publisher. A publisher may publish books which will either be bought by nobody, or by very few people, or by many people, and not only the value of his business to himself, but the extent to which it enriches the community, will depend on how many people wish for the books, and on how much they wish for them. If it cost a thousand dollars to produce an edition of a book, and no one would buy a copy, all the exertion involved in producing it would be wasted. The edition would have no exchange value. If only five people wanted to buy copies the exchange value of the whole edition would be only the exchange value of those five copies; whilst if on the other hand the edition had been limited to five copies only, and these had been priced at two hundred dollars each, it might well happen that even this small demand would be destroyed. There are certainly not many books, which if one copy only were wanted, it would be worth while to print; for few customers would pay for the cost of producing them. In order to make a publishing business possible, the exchange value of the books must at all events equal the cost of producing them; and as they will possess no exchange value at all unless they can be sold at a sufficiently moderate price, and as the price will not cover the cost unless there is a demand for a sufficient number of them, it is easy to see the faculties on which the economic production of books depends. It depends—as do all kinds of production—on labor in the first place, much of it being skilled labor; for without this, type could not be made or set, nor could the paper or the binding be produced. But the best paper and the most charming type will not sell

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many copies of a book that nobody cares to read; and the very foundation of every publisher's business is the ability which selects such books as at any given moment will be appreciated by the public—that is to say, will possess a sufficient exchange value. It depends entirely on the exertion by him of this ability whether the contents of his warehouse are worth thousands of dollars, or are merely so much waste paper. So far as the amount and quality of the labor is concerned which is employed in their production, they might be either the one thing or the other.*

It remains, however, to take account of the ability of the author, without which the ability of the publisher would be useless. It is not necessary to comment on so obvious a fact as that the value of the labor of the compositor depends on what the author has written; but attention may be called to the connection between the two kinds of ability—that of the author, and that of the publisher, and to their different character. The ability of the author is the ability of invention, and its results must be classed with those which, if not artificially protected, cease, when once they are produced, to be the monopoly of the producer; for any book as soon as the copyright expires becomes the property of any or every publisher who chooses to appropriate it. But the ability of the publisher, which consists in the power of selection and judgment, produces results which remain of necessity his own; for they consist of the salable qualities—or, in other words, the exchange value—of the editions which he offers to the public. The way in which these two kinds of ability coöperate in giving these editions their value—that is to say, in turning a book into a commodity which economically has any value at all—may be left to the consideration of the reader. I will only point out in the briefest way possible how the production of a book, as an economic commodity, illustrates the parts played by ability in all modern products.

It involves, as we have seen, both the ability of invention and the ability of enterprise; and it shows how the results of the ability of the inventor—that is to say, the author—even were they secured to him by the artificial monopoly of copyright

*It is impossible to even mention here all the economic points which the above example illustrates with a singular clearness. But special attention may be called to the luminous way in which the case of a printed book shows the difference between cost of production and value—labor determining one, and ability of the various kinds the other. Labor would produce no value at all, except as the servant of ability.

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must, before they can be invested with economic value, be for the time being monopolized by the selective ability of the publisher. It will show also the fallacy of the idea that, because certain results of ability can be monopolized by their authors, only through artificial means, they properly belong to the community; and that men of business ability who utilize these results rob the community of the wealth which this use of them produces. If such men rob anybody, it is not the community that they rob, but some few individuals whose ability is of another kind. For if the publisher of a popular novel should increase his own receipts by paying nothing, or an insufficient sum, to the author, it is plain that the author is robbed of what is due to him, not the reader.

And this suggests the mention of yet another point, which can be here indicated in the most cursory way only. In the popular language of the day, when the men who represent ability are spoken of they are spoken of generally as representing capital. A little reflection will show anybody that capital assists production only in so far as it represents ability and is utilized by ability; that it is, in fact, to ability what hands are to labor. It will be seen also that capital—or at least the larger part of it—is the creation of past ability, not the creation of labor; and that thus, if interest on capital—*which is the sum paid by ability for the use of capital to the owners of capital*—be, as it is often called, robbery, it is a robbery committed not by ability on labor, but by the inheritors of the results of past ability on the monopolists of present ability. It is, in fact, a question between author and publisher, not a question between publisher and public.

There is yet another point which the production of books may suggest to us. It is this—that in maintaining that labor plays a subordinate part in production, we are in no way casting a slur on the general qualities of the laborer. The author of the noblest poem, or the most profound philosophic treatise, may contribute less to the exchangeable wealth of a country during a given year than the author of such a book as *The Mystery of a Hansom Cab*. And thus many a laborer may be far superior as a man to the man on whose industrial ability he is absolutely dependent as a laborer. In dealing with the production of wealth we have simply got to consider what qualities, as a fact, play most part in the production of material values, without any eye to the question

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of whether such qualities do not often belong to men who, in point both of disposition and culture, are very inferior persons.

It can in the long run be to the interest of nobody to disguise the truth; and an accurate study of economics will teach us this, that the few, however inferior morally, produce the larger part of the wealth of the modern world; that wealth is not, as is commonly said, the result of social labor but the result of social labor multiplied by ability; and that whatever claims the public may have on the wealth of the minority, that claim cannot be sustained on the ground that the public has produced this wealth; for the minority as a body have not only produced the whole of it, but a vast amount besides, which the public has already appropriated.

W. H. MALLOCK.

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HOW TO CHECK TESTAMENTARY LITIGATION.

BY THE HON. RASTUS S. RANSOM, SURROGATE OF NEW YORK COUNTY.

IT WILL be admitted, I think, by all that this subject is of great interest to every citizen, as all must sooner or later leave their earthly possessions to be distributed by their government under the supervision and direction of its chosen officers. All persons will agree that a procedure should exist duly authorized by the statutes of the government, according to which the property of deceased persons shall be collected and distributed in a prompt and economical manner. It is not generally known that the right of inheritance, and the right to dispose of one's property by will, is not a right incident to one's labor and thrift in acquiring such property. According to the principle underlying the modern state the citizen has not ownership in a single dollar of the fruit of his labor, except as such ownership is granted to him by his government. However, under all forms of government in the civilized world, at least, the citizen is permitted to own and control the fruits of his labor and the profits of his business ventures, subject always to the superior title thereto of his government. Here we have briefly stated the reason for the custody by the government of all the property of the citizen after his demise, to be by it appropriated to the payment of any dues to it, such as taxes, to the suitable burial and other funeral expenses of the decedent, to the payment of all his just debts, and of the distribution of the remainder among his heirs if he died without a will, or to those persons who are named by him in his last will as devisees or legatees. The interests or rights of these persons are necessarily controlled by the government, who through its proper officers settles all questions which in any way affect the final disposition of the decedent's estate. This duty of the government is paternal in its character. It will be easily perceived that innumerable questions are likely to arise in respect to the rights of the persons, who, under the law, are interested in the decedent's estate; dis-

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putes and controversies must be of frequent occurrence, in which difficult problems of law will intrude themselves and are to be solved by the government authorities. Questions of a purely business character must be answered, helpless persons, such as infants, the insane and very old people, are to be protected, and after they are marshalled before the governmental authorities the estate of the dead man must be divided between them.

The scheme of the State governments in this country for the distribution of decedents' estates is fashioned after that of England. In New York State the officer elected by the people to whom full power and jurisdiction is delegated by the government in the premises is called the Surrogate. This officer, as the title of his office indicates, acts in the place of another, viz., in the place of and for the State government. The history of this office is most interesting and instructive, and the reader is referred to the opinion of the learned and eminent Chief Justice Charles P. Daly in the Matter of Brick's Estate.* Judge Daly traces the jurisdiction of this office from the earliest settlement of this State and explains the functions, duties and powers of the Surrogate. Many and important changes have been made by the legislature of this State since the creation of this office, until we have now a Court of Record in the city and county of New York presided over by two Surrogates whose jurisdiction is confined to the probate of wills, the appointment of executors, administrators, trustees and guardians, the control of these officers and the supervision of their official acts. The jurisdiction of this court is limited by statute, but within its domain of authority it has the widest jurisdiction and the broadest powers of any court. Here what is called natural justice and equity have full sway. The Surrogate has the right (it has been held by the Court of Appeals) to decree upon equitable principles and upon principles of justice and reason. The Surrogate is both a ministerial and a judicial officer and with him is lodged ample power to limit litigation in his court to actual and honest differences, to check and prevent captious disputes and speculative proceedings.

How then shall the increase of testamentary litigation be checked? The answer in the concrete is that the Surrogate should be conscious of his authority and power and should fearlessly enforce both with the single purpose of doing justice to all. His

*15 Abbott Practice Reports 12.

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duty is plainly set forth in the statutes and the decisions of the appellate courts, and an earnest and conscientious effort on his part to fulfill all the obligations of his office will reduce litigation in his court to the settlement of honest differences.

As this paper is written for laymen, not for lawyers, I have thought best to go somewhat into the detail of the procedure in the Surrogate's Court, so that the reader will perceive the precise truth of my proposition, that the strongest check to testamentary litigation is the Surrogate himself. His authority and his duty are undoubted. In a very recent case the Court of Appeals used these words in regard to the Surrogate: "The Code invests him with the broad jurisdiction to direct and control the conduct and settle the accounts of executors and administrators, and to administer justice in all matters relating to the affairs of decedents."

All of the property in the great city and county of New York owned by natural persons must pass by devolution of its title through the Surrogate's Court. At the death of the owner, the title to his personal property becomes vested in his personal representative, that is to say, in his administrator, if he dies without a will, or in his executor if he leaves a will naming an executor. His real property, such as houses and lands, descends to his heirs-at-law if he dies intestate, and if he leaves a will it passes according to the terms thereof. It rarely if ever happens that the decedent has succeeded in satisfying everybody with the provisions of his will, except in the case of a sole legatee. I have never known of an objection from a person holding that relation to the will. The rule is that the will is a disappointment to many who had expected a benefaction, and a sense of personal wrong oftentimes induces a contest on their part. There is probably no department in the administration of justice where so little is really known to the public of the rights and remedies of persons interested as that which has to do with the settlement of decedents' estates. Many intelligent persons do not realize the absolute right both in morals and in law of a man to dispose of all of his property by a paper executed by him in his lifetime, to take effect only at his death and which is defined to be his last will and testament. His right to so dispose of his property is as certain and sacred as his right to dispose of it by sale or gift during his life. None of his kin would think for a moment of questioning a transfer of property in his lifetime, but at his

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death those who have not been remembered in his will, as it seems to them they should have been, are at once strongly impressed with the belief or the hope, in most cases, that the testator was of unsound mind and incapable of making a will, or that he was unduly influenced by some wicked person to make a will which did not include them as beneficiaries. Then commences the bitterest of all quarrels—the family quarrel. Resort is had in these contests many times to calumny and slander both of the dead and the living. Greed for money often induces false swearing and in many cases rank perjury. The most sacred of family affairs and family secrets are paraded before the world in the hope, usually vain I am glad to say, that the will of the dead man shall be rejected, his last wishes disregarded and defied, and any *modicum* of his property which may be left after paying the expenses of the litigation given over to them. A most wholesome check to this kind of testamentary litigation, in my own view, would be the insistence of the Surrogate that the case be promptly tried, the trial to proceed from day to day until the end is reached, whereupon he should at once decide, stating as briefly as practicable his reasons, both on the facts and the law. By pursuing this course the prime object of many contestants, to delay and harass the proponents of the will for the purpose of forcing a settlement which shall give them some valuable interest in the estate, is defeated.

Many wills are contested with no honest belief on the part of the contestants that the will was not lawfully executed, their real motive often being the gratification of spite and spleen with the hope that in the course of the proceeding something may turn up to their advantage. Their chief reliance, however, is upon delay. Contests of this sort are not very prevalent, and if the Surrogate will severely denounce them from the bench and will charge the costs of the contest against the contestants personally, as he has the right to do, and enforce his decree in that regard by such powers as are conferred upon him by law, proceedings of this character will be in good faith founded upon facts which will justify in the mind of a reasonable man careful investigation.

I do not intend to produce the impression that all persons interested in the decedent's estate shall not have full and fair chance to investigate in a proceeding for that purpose the *factum* of his will, but I do mean that their objections shall be made in good faith, not for a fishing expedition, not for delay, not to co-

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erce a settlement (but another name for blackmail), and that they shall be ready within a reasonably short time to substantiate them by legal evidence.

In all cases where the decedent has left his property, or a considerable portion of it, to strangers, to the exclusion of his children or his wife, his brothers and sisters, father and mother, the will is said to be unnatural and a careful scrutiny of all the facts and circumstances by the Surrogate is required. Contests of such wills are rarely ever in bad faith, although they do not often succeed, because it is the policy of the law, which is consonant with reason and sense, that the decedent may dispose of his property according to the dictates of his own conscience, or even in absolute defiance of conscience and against the plainest and most sacred of moral or family obligations, so long as it be the fact that his will was his own free act, done at a time when his mental capacity had not been practically destroyed.

If the Surrogate will take pains to explain in clear language to the assembled relatives of the deceased person the really simple and just doctrines of the law, upon the application of which their rights depend, he will usually put an end to further litigation in that particular case. Such action by the Surrogate would so enlighten the understanding and reason of the parties that the litigious contestant would find his support taken away, and the unworthy attorney who is so often the procuring cause of the contest, with no interest to serve but his own, will no longer be able to deceive the credulous with his lurid tales of certain success in the appellate court. Another thought on this subject, in connection with the probate of wills, impels me to suggest that much testamentary litigation is induced by the peculiar jurisdiction of the General Term of the Supreme Court over all proceedings in the Surrogate's Court. The statute gives the General Term of the Supreme Court original jurisdiction over all proceedings in the Surrogate's Court; that is to say, the trial of a will contest in the Surrogate's Court may be treated by the General Term on an appeal as an idle ceremony, and the whole proceeding, so far as evidence is concerned, may be held for naught and proceedings *de novo* had in that court, or the proceeding may be continued in that court from the point where the Surrogate disposed of it, that court having the right to recall witnesses and examine new ones. This, in my opinion, is an

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unwise and burdensome provision of the statute and ought to be repealed.

When the Surrogate was but a ministerial officer such jurisdiction of the General Term was necessary; but the Surrogate's Courts are now Courts of Record, and there is no reason why they should not have all the authority of any of the superior courts of record of any of the cities and counties of the State. It is the settled rule of decision that the findings of fact upon a trial before a jury, a judge at Special Term, or a referee, where there is a conflict of evidence, cannot be set aside upon any appeal in any court. This rule I state broadly, which fairly answers my purpose; but in a will case, or any other for that matter, in the Surrogate's Court, presided over by a magistrate who, as the statute defines, is a judge, the General Term is not bound by his findings of fact where there was a conflict of evidence before him.

Parties litigant and their attorneys are well aware of this condition of the law and they are prompt to avail themselves of it, if there is the shadow of a chance that a different finding on the evidence laid in before the Surrogate may be secured. The reason for the rule that the findings of a jury, judge or referee are final where there was a conflict of evidence applies, I submit, with greater force even to a Surrogate's Court as at present constituted than it does to courts of common law. The statute now under consideration is a direct invitation to any disappointed suitor in a Surrogate's Court to put the decedent's estate to delay and expense and unreasonable litigation. The citizen should have his day in court, that is, his one opportunity to submit his case, but he has no right to more. This opportunity, or day in court, as it is called, should be given at the earliest possible moment, and a speedy trial and a prompt decision should be had. This is my notion of the proper administration of justice. Complex and tardy proceedings with the rights of parties tried piecemeal and in different courts should not be tolerated.

It is an interesting fact in this connection that the General Term of the Supreme Court has more than once refused to entertain an action for the settlement of an executor's account, except where construction of a trust provision of the will is required, upon the sole ground that the Surrogate's Court has exclusive jurisdiction of such matters, whilst the same court under

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the statute I have referred to has the right (and exercises it, too) of reviewing the Surrogate's findings of fact on a conflict of evidence. In other words, the Supreme Court has not jurisdiction in an action brought for that purpose to settle the accounts of an executor and distribute the estate with the exception stated, but the appellate branch of the court has jurisdiction to try *de novo* the *factum* of a will notwithstanding that the same has been carefully investigated by the Surrogate's Court with all the great advantage of a personal examination of the witnesses.

Another most important check to the increase of testamentary litigation would result if persons who make wills appreciated the fact that they cannot continue in the management of their property after death. The proneness of everybody to make a most elaborate will providing by a system of trust provisions for accumulation of income, powers to executors and trustees to invest and sell, and the establishment of continuing charities is fraught with great danger of almost ceaseless litigation and endless expense. Wills are prepared by testators having large estates so complex in their conditions that executors are unable to understand them, and are therefore compelled to seek the opinion of the court in an action for their construction. Such actions are very frequent, are always costly to the estate and rarely ever satisfactory to anybody but the court.

Our law libraries are groaning under the weight of text books and reported decisions of courts of intermediate and appellate jurisdiction, all devoted to the task of explaining the meaning and legal effect of wills. It seems to me a man about to make a will should realize the fact that when his will becomes operative he will no longer have any interest in the property left behind, and that any attempt on his part to keep control of it or of its earnings is utterly impracticable and foolish. He should dispose of his estate in the simplest way. If he be very wealthy and philanthropic, public spirited or charitable, or all three, let him administer his own estate by giving it away in his lifetime to his chosen objects vesting in his donees the title absolutely. To my mind the testator unwittingly invites and encourages litigation by appointing several executors and trustees, either the same persons or different ones. If the estate be a large one with divers trusts to execute, investments and sales to effectuate, disagreement and contention is certain to happen among these representatives,

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all of which would be avoided if but one executor had been chosen. Again, I believe the choice of natural persons to serve in these capacities is a bad one. Many women are named as executrices of wills, and it is my experience that they know little or nothing of business, rely largely upon their emotions and intuitions and fall an easy prey to the ever ready, and always convenient, confidence man and sharper. My own judgment is that women should never be compelled or permitted to undergo the labor and responsibilities of these positions. I am of opinion that good safe trust companies are the best executors, etc., and by far the best guardians of the estates of infants.

The limits of this paper do not permit any further elaboration of my views upon this subject. Considerable progress, however, has been made in recent years in the reduction of litigation.

In the year 1888 the number of wills offered for probate in the City and County of New York was	1,375
Of this number there we contested	131
Rejected	7
In the year 1889 wills offered for probate	1,385
Contested	81
Rejected	11
In the year 1890 wills offered for probate	1.577
Contested	93
Rejected	6
In the year 1891 wills offered for probate	1,600
Contested	101
Rejected	11
In the year 1892 wills offered for probate	1,541
Contested	83
Rejected	6

The materiality of these figures and the application to be made will be plain to the reader. A further fact I should state, that of this whole number of contests, four hundred and eighty-nine, or more than two in each week of the eleven months of each of the business years, there has been but one reversal, and that was upon a question of fact simply.

The literal meaning of the subject of this paper excludes any observations upon another branch of the business in the Surrogate's Court. But I think a few words in regard to the accounts of executors, administrators, guardians and trustees are appropriate and material. The branch of business in the Surrogate's Court most pregnant with opportunity for litigation, a perfect breeder in fact of disputes and contentions, is that which includes the settlement of the accounts of executors, administrators, guardians, trustees, etc. The Surrogate, as I have already shown, has control of these officers. It is his duty to protect them

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in the honest discharge of their trusts and to call them to strict account for any wilful or grossly negligent omission of duty. The office of the executor and trustee is not of his own seeking, and at the best his is a thankless task, with utterly inadequate compensation in most cases. The rule of law applicable to this officer is reasonable and beneficent. The Surrogate should ever bear in mind the maxim "that whom the testator trusts, so will the law," and applying the spirit of this maxim to the conduct of the trustee or executor he will have no difficulty in doing justice to him and to the persons interested in the estate of decedent. The accounts of these officers are really very simple and easily kept, and there should rarely be any good ground of objection thereto. An important check to litigation in this department of business is the prompt condemnation by the Surrogate of slack or faithless performance of duty by the executor, a stern rebuke of all extravagance and the surcharging of his account with all sums which have been unlawfully expended by him, and in any extreme case depriving him of all commissions and charging the costs of his accounting against him personally. Idle and captious objections to his account, which are not infrequent, should be dismissed at once and the costs of the proceeding charged against the objectant personally and their payment enforced. A plain, brief statement by the Surrogate of the law in the case should be made and his decision promptly rendered. If this course is pursued the public will very soon become enlightened, if not fully educated.

Another great check to testamentary litigation would be the trial of all issues by the Surrogate in person. The delegation by him of the functions and duties of his office is a vice in our judicial system. It is supposed by many lawyers that the Surrogate is relieved of much labor in a proceeding sent to a referee; whether this be true or not, and I doubt it, the answer is: Give us more Surrogates if the number we have are not equal to the volume of business. The expense and delay of a reference is often almost scandalous, and in the majority of cases is a torment and an outrage to all concerned.

The law which governs and directs the Surrogate in the discharge of his duties is in the main adequate for all purposes. Some amendments which I suggested to the legislature this winter will no doubt be enacted, and will serve to effect a more prompt settlement of the affairs of decedents. RASTUS S. RANSOM.

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DISAPPEARING DICKENSLAND.

BY CHARLES DICKENS.

Among the vast number of queer businesses in which people somehow or other manage to pick up a decent livelihood in London there is one which is hardly known to Londoners themselves, and but little known even to visitors from other parts of England, but with which a great number of enthusiastic American travellers are pretty well acquainted. Indeed, it is not too much to say that it is almost entirely among the pilgrims to English literary shrines and the indefatigable and omnivorous general sightseers from the great Western Continent that the professors of this singular and deceptive industry find their prey.

For it must be owned at the outset that, although in the ordinary conduct of their lives these people are fairly honest, perhaps, as the world goes, there is something of a predatory nature in their public career, and that the flights of fancy in which their peculiar avocation compels them to indulge are occasionally—I might almost say generally—very near akin to downright mendacity. It may be pleaded in mitigation of this somewhat severe judgment that long intercourse and familiarity with works of fiction have developed among them more brilliant imaginations, a higher inventive faculty and keener eyes for the picturesque than are found in ordinary mortals; but the fact after all remains that more thorough-paced disciples of Ananias and Sapphira than the guides to what is called Dickensland in London it would be difficult to find in all that vast army of untrustworthy people who have taken the great sights and shrines of the world into their peculiar keeping.

As a matter of fact, the London of the early books of Charles Dickens is, practically, as Mrs. Curdle said of the drama, "gone, absolutely gone." Very little even remains of most of the places described in the later works. Dickensland in London, indeed, has nowadays hardly any more real existence than the Garden of

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the Hesperides or the Island of Atlantis. But what does that matter? The transatlantic pilgrim to the shrine of the master clamors to be shown the house in which Mr. Pickwick lived, the court in which Mr. Krook made such a very uncomfortable end of it, the actual public-house which displayed Mr. Samuel Weller's extensive and peculiar knowledge of London in so remarkable a degree, the Old Curiosity Shop, Tom-all-alone's, the Wooden Midshipman and all the rest of it. Why should he not be gratified? It is true that a great many places of this kind were absolutely incapable of certain identification at any time, and that almost all the originals of those which were actually portraits have been swept from the face of the earth in the course of the extraordinary changes which have practically given us in fifty years a new London on the ruins of the old. But the demand inevitably creates the supply. Old illusions die hard. Dickensland lives again in the vivid imagination of the guides, and the truth of the old saying again asserts itself—*populus vult decipi et decipitur.* A curious instance of the way in which people are sometimes quite unconsciously and innocently led into error in these matters is to be found in John Forster's *Life of Charles Dickens.* Mr. Forster gives a picture of Tavistock House, which is, no doubt, accepted as a faithful representation of the house as it was when Charles Dickens lived in it. But, as a matter of fact, it is not. A later tenant added a portico, or porch, to the street door; and this portico, of which Charles Dickens knew nothing, figures in the picture. This is, perhaps, a trivial matter; but many of the Dickensland traditions have received credence on very similar, and equally inaccurate, grounds. Thus, for instance, to take a case outside London, local tradition at the little seaside village of Broadstairs in Kent has given the name Bleak House to the house on the cliff above the harbor, in which Charles Dickens lived during two or three summers, and which, in his time, was known as Fort House; and the legend—implicitly believed in those parts—is that *Bleak House* was written there. In point of fact, although much of Charles Dickens's work was done at Broadstairs—notably, as regards *David Copperfield*—it so happens that *Bleak House* was one of the books on which no work whatever was done in Fort House.

That there is really little or nothing left of what may fairly be called Dickensland in the London of to-day, a rapid survey of a

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few of the books which afford the guides their most popular and remunerative examples will amply prove.

The *Sketches*—to begin with the beginning—were written some fifty-seven years ago, and it is natural that the scenes described, and the manners and customs of the actors in them, should have changed considerably in so long a period. But how the whole thing has been actually swept away is nothing less than astonishing.

"A few years hence," Charles Dickens wrote in the description of Scotland Yard, "and the antiquary of another generation, looking into some mouldy record of the strife and passion that agitated the world in these times, may glance his eye over the pages we have just filled; and not all his knowledge of the history of the past, not all his black-letter lore, or his skill in book collecting, not all the dry studies of a long life, or the dusty volumes that have cost him a fortune may help him to the whereabouts either of Scotland Yard or of any of the landmarks we have mentioned in describing it." This prediction has been amply and speedily verified. Scotland Yard still exists, it is true, but the street of handsome buildings which leads from Whitehall to Northumberland Avenue has nothing but the name in common with the old world "territory, which was first accidentally discovered by a country gentleman who lost his way in the Strand," and the "landmarks" have fared as badly. Northumberland House has gone altogether, and its site is occupied by the Grand Hotel and the northern end of Northumberland Avenue; the new market, the springing up of which at Hungerford is described as having first given the signal of change in Scotland Yard, itself made way for Charing Cross Railway Station in 1862; the Hungerford Suspension Bridge, which was not constructed until nine years after the date of the *Sketches*, was transported to Clifton near Bristol, at the same time. Absolutely no trace of the old place remains.

Following the *Sketches* in order, we find Seven Dials still existing, little altered in their main features but still considerably improved; but the famous old clothes shops of Monmouth Street have gone the way of most of the frowsy slums of a like nature. Except as to the entrance from St. Paul's Churchyard and what is called Dean's Court, where some of the old buildings have been preserved, the same fate has attended Doctors Com-

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mons, the courts, so familiar to us through *David Copperfield*, were destroyed in 1867; the successors of Mr. Spenlow and the "coves in white aprons," to whom the elder Mr. Weller fell so easy a prey, have vanished together into space. There is still a theatre on the site of Astley's, but it is not the same as that in which Christopher Nubbles and his family and friends made such delightful holiday—nor, it may be incidentally mentioned, would it be possible for any gentleman in Kit's position to give that remarkable oyster supper nowadays for the simple reason that the price of oysters in London has increased in direct proportion to the increase of London itself.

Londoners get so many holidays in these days—and use them so much better than was too often the case in the old time—that they no longer require "a periodical breaking out. . . . A sort of spring rash; a three days' fever which cools the blood for six months afterwards, and at the expiration of which London is restored to its old habits of plodding industry as suddenly and completely as if nothing had ever happened to disturb them," to quote the *Sketches'* description of Greenwich Fair, and it is perhaps fortunate that this should be so, for Greenwich Fair was abolished as a crying nuisance many years ago. A more permanent, and, in its way, more respectable form of outdoor recreation, practically vanished when the public got tired of Vauxhall—celebrated by Thackeray both in *Vanity Fair* and *Pendennis*—and the "Royal Property," as it was called, was parcelled out into building lots, and when its sometime rival, Cremorne, which, oddly enough, is not mentioned by Charles Dickens, was also swallowed up by the advance of the enterprising London builder in the course of the sixties. The ill-contrived, ill-arranged, ill-constructed criminal courts at the Old Bailey still remain, as crying a disgrace to the greatest and wealthiest city in the world as ever. The prison of Newgate is not yet pulled down, but is practically disused and is to disappear into the limbo of London memories before very long, and, though it is still used as a place of execution, the miserable business is now done privately instead of in the presence of the horrible crowd which used to fill the open space before the frowning walls on "hanging Mondays" in the bad old time. The Samuel Wilkins of to-day could not take Miss Jemima Evans to the "Eagle," for that place of amusement—afterwards, in the hands of John Rouse, and, later, of the two Conquests, father and son, famous

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as the "Grecian theatre"—has passed into the hands of the Salvation Army, and its concerts nowadays are provided only by the singularly inharmonious brazen instruments and flabby big drums in which the followers of General Booth appear to take so weird a delight, while the dancing platform in the garden, if it is used at all, must needs be utilized exclusively for the corybantic exercises of tambourine-pointing Hallelujah Lasses and Happy Elizas. As for the "White Conduit," where Miss Amelia Martin realized all the bitterness of ill-considered and disappointed ambition, its place knew it no more, and its site in Pentonville was built over, years ago.

It will be noticed that almost every place of amusement mentioned in the *Sketches* has disappeared entirely, and even a casual observer cannot fail to see that the amusements of the great mass of the London people have at the same time changed altogether. The Vauxhalls and Cremornes have gone, and, even if they had survived for a few years longer, would inevitably have been suppressed by the wisdom of our municipal rulers, who have decided that public dancing-places shall be tabooed, and would like, if they could, to refuse any refreshment but tea and lemonade to the visitors to the Crystal Palaces and Earl's Courts which have taken the place of the old pleasure resorts. To some extent the change may be and, I suppose, must be admitted to be for the better, but that the people of that day enjoyed themselves in simpler fashion than we do, and were content with a great deal less in the way of amusement—and spent very much less money in the process—than is demanded now must be patent to any reader of the *Sketches*. The monstrous growth of London and the enormously increased facilities for moving about, which have of late years been provided by railways, omnibuses, and trams, have made it almost impossible for the modern Londoner to take his pleasure, such as it is, except in droves and mobs, and I doubt very much whether our people really get half as much enjoyment for their money as their simpler-minded and more easy-going ancestors got out of their cheaper and far less frequent holidays and diversions.

The troubles of the Pickwickian explorer of Dickensland in London begin very early in his career, and the aspect of Goswell Street, now known as Goswell Road, which will meet him on the very threshold, is calculated to inflict upon him a severe shock to

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his feelings. It is difficult to imagine how a gentleman of means, such as Mr. Pickwick is described to have been, could ever have taken up his abode in this noisy, bustling, and, if the truth must be told, decidedly unpleasant thoroughfare, or how Sergeant Buzfuz, even in the loftiest and most poetical flights of his eloquence, could ever have associated it with anything in the nature of tranquillity and retirement. And, even bearing in mind the fact that Mrs. Bardell's establishment was of a very modest kind, it would certainly require the boldest and most determined of guides to pitch upon any house in the Goswell Road as that from which Mr. Pickwick emerged on the memorable "thirteenth of May, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven." But the look of the thing changes when it is remembered that at that time Islington, which lies at the northern extremity of the Goswell Road, was a pleasant, outlying village ; that the fields and lanes of Pentonville, Stoke Newington, Highbury, Hornsey, and Highgate were within an easy walk of Mr. Pickwick's lodging, and that the miles and miles of streets which now separate the Goswell Road from the open country were not even thought of.

Possibly, as our traveller drives disappointed to the Golden Cross, he will wonder how ever Mr. Pickwick managed to have that instructive conversation with the cabman, which would under present arrangements be quite impossible, until he remembers that in those days the cabman sat on a kind of perch just outside the cab and handy for conversation with the fare, and recognizes, as he probably will, the infinite superiority of the modern hansom over the ancient "cabriolet;" while it will afford him food for reflection to consider that the prototype of the crowd of omnibuses through which he threads his way did not make its appearance in the streets of London until the 4th of July, 1829—just about the time, indeed, that Mr. Pickwick had completed the sowing of his rather late crop of wild oats and had settled down at Dulwich.

As to the Golden Cross, that is only represented to-day by a comparatively modern hotel opposite Charing Cross station. The old Golden Cross was cleared away in 1829 or 1830 to make room for the present Trafalgar Square, which has itself been transmogrified in the course of time to such an extent that anybody who has to revisit it now after an absence of five and twenty years or so would scarcely recognize the place but for the Nelson Column, the National Gallery, and St. Martin's Church.

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Up to about six years ago there was still enough left of the old White Hart Inn in the Borough to swear by, for, although the buildings on the south side of the yard had been replaced by an exceedingly modern public-house, some of the old galleries and tiled roofs on the north and east still looked down forlornly on the pilgrim. Now there is not even that much consolation left. The whole place has been swept away, and is as unrecognizable as the "Belle Sauvage" on Ludgate Hill, the Pickwickian associations with which were long ago dissipated by the erection of a great printing office on the site of the house at which Mr. Weller, Senior, stopped "ven he drove up," and which has only left its name as a puzzle to antiquaries. But if the White Hart is gone, a few doors farther to the southward there yet lingers a considerable portion of one of those typical old taverns, "The George" by name, and any one who wishes to know just what the extinct White Hart was like would do well to pay a visit to this quaint old hostelry. The yard has been annexed by a railway company as a depot for the receipt of goods, but all that part of the house which lies to the south is in admirable preservation, and "The George," although not the rose itself, is at all events nearly next door to it.

The dry arches of Waterloo Bridge, which were so highly eulogized by Mr. Samuel Weller as a "fine sleeping place—within ten minutes walk of all the public offices—only if there is an objection to it it is that the situation is raythur too airy," still exist, it is true, but as they were utilized for warehouses, stables, and so on shortly after Mr. Weller's time they do not now offer any points of interest to the explorer, and the "Fox-under-the-Hill" tavern in the immediate neighborhood—where Mr. Roker's friend Teddy Martin "whopped the coalheaver"—was disestablished by the Victoria Embankment, and the last traces of it have been swept away by the vast alterations now going on between the Strand and the Embankment at the foot of Cecil and Salisbury streets.

It is of no use for the Dickens student to allow his guide to take him into the city in search of Messrs. Dodson & Fogg's offices in Freeman's Court,—they were pulled down four and thirty years ago: and I should very much doubt his succeeding in the discovery of that "second court on the right hand side—last house on the same side of the vay," the close aquaintance with which, extending even to an intimate familiarity with the

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peculiarities of the "box as stands in the first fire-place," stamped Mr. Weller's knowledge of London as being extensive and peculiar. It was about six or seven and thirty years ago that I first began my quest after that box in the first fire-place, and as I have never been able to come across it I presume it must have been improved off the face of the earth very soon after Mr. Weller's time.

There is a George Yard off Lombard Street to this day, but it is a very different George Yard to that in which the George and Vulture was situated—Mr. Pickwick surely had odd tastes in the way of lodging—and the site of the hotel is now occupied by a part of the City Conservative Club, all that remains of the old place being its name on the door post of an adjoining chop house. The Blue Boar in Leadenhall Market, where they were so well acquainted with the elder Mr. Weller's ways, fared as badly when the narrow congeries of ramshackle lanes and alleys, which until quite recently contained the old market, were wiped out by the fine buildings of the present one. Hard by, the little timber midshipman—"that which might be called, familiarly, the woodenest, that which thrust itself out above the pavement, right leg foremost, with a suavity the least endurable, and had the shoe buckles and flapped waistcoat the least reconcilable to human reason, and bore at its right eye the most offensively disproportionate piece of machinery"—no longer stands "taking observations of the hackney coaches" from the side of Sol Gills's door in Leadenhall Street; and the street itself and all the buildings in it are changed beyond recognition. There is no room any more in Bevis Marks for Mr. Sampson Brass's residence, the parlor window of which was so close upon the footway that the passenger who took the wall brushed the dim glass with his coat sleeve. Bevis Marks is now a fairly broad street of warehouses and other well-to-do places of business, and one would as soon expect to see a giraffe in "The Marks" as a Punch and Judy show. Further to the southward again people walk about in Todgers's neighborhood—or what would be Todgers's neighborhood if Todgers's still existed—as easily as they walk about anywhere else. It is no longer the fate of the pedestrian in this quarter to "grope his way for an hour through lanes and by-ways, and court-yards and passages," and never once to emerge "upon anything that might be reasonably called a street." Lanes and by-ways, court-yards and pas-

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sages, all the "devious mazes" of the district have been carted away, and nothing remains but the monument, now the centre of quite a respectable open space, to remind us that M. Todgers once kept house and wrestled with the commercial gentlemen's appetite for gravy close by; while it is enough to give one look only at Cannon Street to feel that it is no longer the place for the "somewhat similar" establishment to which Mr. Jinkins took occasion to refer after a certain memorable dinner at which Todgers's showed what it could do when it tried.

A very happy hunting-ground for the sojourner in Dickensland in London used to be the unsavory neighborhood "in the vicinity of Clare Market and closely approximating to the back of New Inn," wherein was situated the Magpie and Stump Tavern, in which Mr. Lowton entertained Mr. Pickwick in so singular a manner, and I take it that more impossible guesses and audacious taradiddles have been gravely offered to the unsuspecting traveller in this particular portion of Dickensland than in any other. For not only did the shabby, dirty, noisome courts and alleys of which these particular slums were composed—and almost all of which have been quite recently pulled down—answer to many of Charles Dickens's descriptions of low neighborhoods; not only were there here many taverns which might well have stood for the "Magpie and Stump"— I think, indeed, that the "weather-beaten sign-board" bearing "the half obliterated semblance of a magpie intently eyeing a crooked streak of brown paint which the neighbors had been taught from infancy to consider as the stump" really was still in existence up to a comparatively recent date; but just round the corner, as it were, where Portsmouth Street joins Lincoln's Inn Fields, is the choicest and most generally believed in of all the bogus Dickens sights. This is a mean little building, now used as a waste-paper store, which describes itself as the veritable Old Curiosity Shop "immortalized by Charles Dickens," and which has about as much to do with the genuine building—if Nell's home had any actual brick and mortar original — as the Capitol in Washington itself. Curiosity shops were not such rarities in 1840 that it was important to take any particular specimen as a model to begin with, but let anybody recall the descriptions of the Old Curiosity Shop itself in the earlier chapters of the book, carefully consider Cattermole's illustrations, and then take stock of that claimant to the

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title which is now under consideration, and I think he will have as little hesitation in arriving at the conclusion that the Portsmouth Street building is a complete fraud as I have myself. There is a description of a "small, dull yard" below the old man's window, for one thing, which puts the whole matter beyond doubt, seeing that the very few windows in the house in Portsmouth Street look direct into the roadway; while the statement in the book that the "back parlour was very far removed from the old man's chamber," and the consideration of the circumstances that there were in the Curiosity Shop of the book two rooms on the ground floor besides the shop, and that in the Portsmouth Street house there could not be any possibility of finding room for a tenth part of the grandfather's stock-in-trade, seem to knock the final nails into the coffin of Portsmouth Street. And if any further evidence is considered necessary it will be found, I think, in the description of the deserted house as "a dull barrier dividing the glaring lights and bustle of the streets into two long lines." There are not many glaring lights and not much bustle in Portsmouth Street, and if there were, they could not, by any stretch of the imagination, make "two long lines."

Not very far off, across Lincoln's Inn Fields and New Square, Lincoln's Inn, is an undoubtedly genuine bit of Dickensland, however; not long to remain it may be feared, as a great deal of pulling down and rebuilding are going on in the neighborhood, but well worth looking at while it lasts. This is the court in which Mr. Krook lived. It can be approached either by the little gate about midway in the east side of New Square, through which Miss Flite conducted "The Wards in Jarndyce," or by a passage adjoining the Three Tuns public-house in Chancery Lane, just opposite Bream's Buildings. It is known to ordinary mortals as Chichester Rents, and at the Lincoln's Inn end of it stands the Old Ship Tavern, which, I have no doubt whatever, was the original of the Sol's Arms. A careful and interesting article in the *St. James's Gazette* of June 27, 1892, claims the corner house opposite (Nos. 8 and 9) as Mr. Krook's, and relies for evidence especially on the fact that no other house in the court has an attic with an outside parapet—"Lady Jane," the Lord Chancellor's cat crouched "on the parapet outside for hours and hours" seeking to devour Miss Flite's birds, it will be remembered. But against that is to be set in

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strict fairness the fact that we have it in Mr. Krook's own words that the Sol's Arms was "next door," while the coroner in the course of the inquest on Mr. Krook himself speaks of the "unlucky house next door;" and we are therefore compelled to conclude that "over the way" and "next door" were interchangeable terms both with Mr. Krook and the coroner, or to admit that it is absurd in considering such matters as this to insist on an absolute photographic accuracy in matters of detail. It is enough—or ought to be enough, of course it is not enough for the genuine enthusiast—that a place should bear sufficient resemblance to a description in one of the books to enable us to say with tolerable certainty, this is the scene which suggested so and so to the writer. To insist upon every brick, or on the absolute identification of every detail; to suppose that Charles Dickens held himself down in such cases to mere literal description, bringing to it no imagination or invention of his own, is manifestly absurd. And it seems to me that a judgment based on these considerations will be in favor of Chichester Rents, just as it will not admit the claims of the Old Curiosity Shop in Portsmouth Street. Chichester Rents has a rival claimant, by the bye, in Bishop's Court, a little to the northward. But what little remains—and it is not much—of the old houses in Bishop's Court only seems to point to the greater authenticity of "The Rents."

The particular *Bleak House* scenes associated with this neighborhood, it may be added, are very easily to be identified. There is no difficulty in recognizing Took's Court, Cursitor Street, as Mr. Snagsby's Cook's Court, for instance, and as yet the march of improvement has left there many houses, any one of which may well be that over which the "little woman" ruled with so iron a rod. The Courts of Chancery have been cleared away and their business has been transferred to the great legal palace in the Strand—that triumph of ill-arrangement and inconvenience which might almost be the work of the Court of Chancery itself—but the original of Mr. Tulkinghorn's chambers would not be hard to find somewhere about No. 58 Lincoln's Inn Fields; while farther west, half-way down Russell Court, which leads from Drury Lane to Catherine Street, are the "reeking little tunnel of a court," the steps which Jo swept so carefully and so cleanly because "he was so wery good to me, he was," and the "beastly scrap of ground" in which they buried Captain Haw-

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don. There is no offence about the little tunnel of a court now, the burying-ground has been asphalted over and is a playground for children, but that the little churchyard out of Russell Court was that which Charles Dickens had in his mind when he selected a last resting-place for poor "Nemo" cannot, I think, reasonably be doubted. As for Tom-all-Alone's, better supervision, sanitary and police—and especially the passing of Lord Shaftesbury's Common Lodging-Houses Act in 1851—have cut Tom's claws and generally trimmed him up a good deal, but there are still many courts and alleys between Catherine Street and Lincoln's Inn Fields which would be unsafe enough in the daytime, and absolutely dangerous at night, for well-dressed people, not being doctors, nurses, sisters of charity, or scripture readers. Across Holborn, to the northward, Kingsgate Street still lingers precariously. Before long, no doubt, it will take the prevailing infection from the broad, new street at its northern end and burst out into that peculiar modern red brick which, like a sort of scarlet-building-fever, has seized upon so much of the neighborhood, but a fairly lively imagination can still make out Mrs. Gamp's first floor, which was so "easily assailable at night by pebbles, walking-sticks, and fragments of tobacco pipe"—although the modern successor of Mr. Sweedlepipe calls his shop a hairdressing saloon, and appears to have no connection in the bird line.

But I have wandered from the party at the Magpie and Stump and from Jack Bamber, whose stories about the old inns dealt with places of which Charles Dickens was very fond, and which are described in many of his books. Several of these will well repay a visit from the careful and enthusiastic Dickens student, for those which still survive have changed but little in the last fifty years. The Temple has been altered a great deal, it is true, but Fountain Court has been left pretty much as it was when it served as a place of meeting for Tom Pinch and Ruth, and many other of the Dickens scenes which are laid in the Temple can still be easily identified in the course of a stroll among the old buildings which still remain. Furniss's Inn is still very much as it was when John Westlock had that charming little dinner party there; a memorial tablet marks the house in which Charles Dickens wrote the greater part of *Pickwick;* there has been little or no change in Gray's Inn, since Traddles took the "dear-

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est girl in the world" there after their marriage; Staple Inn and Barnard's Inn—the latter the dingiest collection of shabby buildings ever squeezed together in a rank corner as a club for tom-cats—still real memories of Mr. Grewgious, Neville Landless, and Mr. Tartar, Pip, Herbert Pocket and Joe Gargery; while Clifford's Inn remains the dreariest of all the "shabby crew," as Charles Dickens called them. The extensive opening up which has been effected by the construction of Holborn Circus and the new streets in its vicinity has brought Thaives Inn out of its native obscurity; the archway through which Mr. Guppy conducted Esther Summerson to Mr. Jellyby's house has been removed, and the Inn is now one of the turnings out of the broad Circus itself. But it is still easily recognizable in bad weather as "a narrow street of high houses, like an oblong cistern to hold the fog," and has a curiously old-fashioned air among its brand new modern surroundings. Indeed, few of the localities in Dickensland in London answer more satisfactorily to the description than Thaives Inn. But a little way across the Circus are the splendid markets of Smithfield on the site of that disgraceful old cattle-market which seemed to Pip "all a-smear with filth, and fat, and blood, and foam," and which presented so desolate an appearance to Oliver Twist when he started on that terrible journey to Chertsey with Mr. Sikes. All the *Oliver Twist* district about here, it may be added, has disappeared as completely as Jacob's Island itself, not even a Holborn Hill or a Snow Hill—now connected by the Viaduct—remaining to serve as landmarks. Clement's Inn is being pulled down; New Inn is threatened with a like fate; the Globe and the Opera Comique Theatres occupy the site of Lyon's Inn; the place of Symond's Inn, where Mr. Vholes had his office, and where Richard Carstone lived after the Court of Chancery had cast its evil spell over him, knows it no more.

The Marshalsea Prison, which figured so conspicuously in one of Jack Bamber's stories, which reappeared still more prominently in *Little Dorrit*, and to the recollection of which the many sad incidents of Charles Dickens's boyhood give so much painful interest, has altogether gone. Some of its ruins were still standing in 1856, but no trace of it is now to be found, although local tradition—unaccompanied by any sort of proof—has it that some portions of the old prison still exist among the houses to the northward of St. George's Church, in the Borough High Street.

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The Fleet prison was also pulled down long ago, and its site on the east side of the south end of Farringdon Street built over. With the debtors' prisons, and imprisonment for debt itself, have gone all the sponging houses about Cursitor Street — the Coavinses and others—and that mysterious institution known as the "Rules of the Bench," the memory of which has been preserved for us in "Nicholas Nickleby."

But it is not only individual houses belonging to Dickensland which have been lost to us in process of time. Whole neighborhoods have changed their nature; new and handsome quarters of the town have arisen, not only since the days of Mr. Pickwick, but since the death, only twenty-two years ago, of his creator himself. Trafalgar Square, as we have seen, dates only from about the close of Mr. Pickwick's career; the great work of the Victoria Embankment was not completed until 1870; the Northumberland Avenue change was of later date still. The Royal Exchange and the open space about it did not exist before 1844. The widening of the Poultry and Newgate street, the construction of the Holborn Viaduct, and the clearing away of Middle Row, Holborn, have made a fine thoroughfare which Mr. Pickwick would be quite unable to recognize as that along which he walked with Sam Weller from George Yard to Gray's Inn. Farringdon Street, Ludgate Circus, St. Bride Street, and New Bridge Street have completely changed all that neighborhood. The city has been absolutely transformed by the opening up of fine new streets in every direction. Shaftesbury Avenue, Theobald's Road, Rosebery Avenue, Victoria Street, the great market of Smithfield, and many other new streets and open spaces have made havoc of the networks of slums, the narrow thoroughfares and the intricate mazes of houses which people in the old days seemed to regard with perfect complacency. The Houses of Parliament, the Courts of Justice, and almost all of the theatres have been built, and half the parks of London have been made—not to mention the extension of the railway system—not only since Mr. Pickwick's time, but even in quite recent years.

It is needless to multiply instances. It is enough to recognize the fact that the greater part of the London of fifty years ago has vanished already, and that the requirements of a vastly increased and more exacting population demand still further and more sweeping changes. We shall be fortunate if we can even save

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some of the great monuments of architectural art which were bequeathed to us by our forefathers; but as to Dickensland in London, that in the course of a very few years will exist only in the books themselves and in the notes of explorers and commentators.

CHARLES DICKENS.

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A LOOK AHEAD.*

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

I THINK one excusable who has been compelled to live for months among figures and hard facts, and record only the past, if, his task accomplished, he indulges in a look ahead, where not what is but what is to be is considered, and where, being no longer bound by results achieved, he is fancy free.

I have taken this privilege freely for myself in this closing chapter, and, Utopian as the dream may seem, I place on record my belief that it is one day to become a reality.

Until a little more than a hundred years ago the English-speaking race dwelt together in unity, the American being as much a citizen of Britain as the Scotsman, Welshman or Irishman. A difference unhappily arose under the British Constitution, their common heritage, as to the right of the citizens of the older part of the state to tax their fellows in the newer part across the sea without their consent; but separation was not contemplated by Washington, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, Jay, and other leaders. On the contrary, these great men never ceased to proclaim their loyalty to, and their desire to remain part of, Britain; and they disclaimed any idea of separation, which was indeed accepted at last, but only when forced upon them as a sad necessity from which there was no honorable escape if they were to maintain the rights they had acquired, not as American, but as British citizens.

On the other hand, the mother-land, which forced the issue upon her loyal citizens in America, sees nothing more clearly today than that she was in error, and that she converted a constitutional agitation for redress of grievances into a question of patriotic resistance to the exercise of unconstitutional power, an issue which Britons have never been slow to accept, and have never

* This article is the closing chapter of the new edition of "Triumphant Democracy"—embracing the results of the 1890 census—which is soon to be issued by Messrs. Charles Scribners' Sons.

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failed successfully to meet. There is no British statesman who does not feel that if the Britons in America had not resisted taxation without representation and fought out the issue to the end, they would have been false to the blood in their veins.

I desire to give my readers in the old land and in the new some idea of the position of the two parties after the difference between them arose.

The following quotations from the credentials presented by the delegates from several of the American provinces to the First Continental Congress, organized September 5, 1774, show the spirit which then prevailed.

Delegates from the Province of New Hampshire were instructed

"To secure and to perpetuate their (the colonies') rights, liberties and privileges, and to restore that peace, harmony and mutual confidence which once happily subsisted between the parent country and her colonies."

Those of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, Samuel and John Adams among them, were charged to seek

"The restoration of union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, most ardently desired by all good men."

The great Province of Pennsylvania sent delegates for conference,

"And for establishing that union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, which is indispensably necessary to the welfare and happiness of both."

Virginia wished its delegates, among whom were Washington, Randolph and Lee,

"To secure British America from the ravage and ruin of arbitrary taxes, and speedily to procure the return of that harmony and union, so beneficial to the whole empire, and so ardently desired by all British America."

We quote now from addresses and petitions adopted by the Continental Congress.

From an address to the people of Great Britain, approved October 21, 1774, and written, according to Jefferson, by John Jay:

"We believe there is yet much virtue, much justice, much public spirit in the English nation. To that justice we now appeal. You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency. Be assured that these are not facts but calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness."

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From the Petition of the Congress to the King:

"We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favor. Your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavor to support and maintain."

On Monday, June 12, 1775, the Second Continental Congress passed a resolution for a fast, the battles of Lexington and Concord having just taken place, seeking aid

"To avert those desolating judgments with which we are threatened, and to bless our rightful sovereign, King George III."

From the declaration of Congress, setting forth the causes and necessity of taking up arms, adopted July 6, 1775, a few weeks after the battle of Bunker Hill:

"Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us and which we sincerely wish to see restored. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent states. We fight not for glory or for conquest."

From the Petition to the King dated July 8, 1775, signed by the members of the Congress present:

"Attached to Your Majesty's person, family and government with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure Your Majesty that we not only most ardently desire the former harmony between her and these colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations in both countries."

From an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, also adopted by the Congress July 8:

"We are accused of aiming at independence; but how is this accusation supported? By the allegations of your ministers, not by our actions. . . . Yet give us leave most solemnly to assure you that we have not yet lost sight of the object we have ever had in view, a reconciliation with you on constitutional principles, and a restoration of that friendly intercourse, which, to the advantage of both, we till lately maintained."

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Thomas Jefferson wrote :

". . . I am sincerely one of those and would rather be in dependence on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any nation on earth, or than on no nation.

"Believe me, dear sir, there is not in the British Empire a man who more cordially loves a union with Great Britain than I do."

Benjamin Franklin testified before the Committee of the House of Commons :

"They (the colonists) consider themselves as a part of the British Empire, and as having one common interest with it; they may be looked on here as foreigners, but they do not consider themselves as such. They are zealous for the honor and prosperity of this nation; and, while they are well used, will always be ready to support it as far as their little power goes."—From the "Life of Franklin," by John Bigelow. Lippincott. Vol. I., page 495.

On July 13, 1774, Jay was appointed a member of a committee of New York citizens to draw up resolutions on the non-importation policy. This committee reported :

"That it is our greatest happiness and glory to have been born British subjects, and that we wish nothing more ardently than to live and die as such;" that "the Act for blocking up the port of Boston is . . . subversive of every idea of *British liberty*;" and that it should be left to the proposed Congress to determine the question of non-importation, which would be justified only by "dire necessity."—"John Jay," by George Pellew, pages 31 and 32.

While the British-Americans were thus proclaiming their love, affection and loyalty for the parent land, and pleading for British rights and the Union, we turn to those in Britain who are now regarded as the greatest and wisest statesmen of that time. Hear the words of Pitt :

"It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same time I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. They are the subjects of this kingdom equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen; equally bound by its laws and equally participating in the constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. . . . When, therefore, in this House we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your Majesty's Commons for Great Britain, give and grant to your Majesty, what? Our own property? No. We give and grant to your Majesty the property of your Majesty's Commons in America. It is an absurdity in terms."—From a speech by William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, in the House of Commons, January 16, 1776.

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Let us hear Burke ·

"No man ever doubted that the commodity of tea could bear an imposition of three pence. But no commodity will bear three pence, or will bear a penny, when the general feelings of men are irritated, and two millions of people are resolved not to pay. The feelings of the Colonies were formerly the feelings of Great Britain. Theirs were formerly the feelings of Mr. Hampden when called upon for the payment of twenty shillings. Would twenty shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No! but the payment of half twenty shillings, on the principle it was demanded, would have made him a slave."

* * * * * *

"Again and again revert to your own principles—seek peace and ensue it—leave America, if she has taxable matter in her, to tax herself. I am not here going into the distinctions of rights, not attempting to mark their boundaries. I do not enter into these metaphysical distinctions; I hate the very sound of them. Leave the Americans as they anciently stood, and these distinctions, born of our unhappy contest, will die along with it. They and we, and they and our ancestors, have been happy under that system. Let the memory of all actions in contradiction to that good old mode, on both sides, be extinguished forever. Be content to bind America by laws of trade; you have always done it. Let this be your reason for binding their trade. Do not burden them by taxes; you were not used to do so from the beginning. Let this be your reason for not taxing. These are the arguments of states and kingdoms. Leave the rest to the schools; for there only they may be discussed with safety."—From a speech on American Taxation, delivered in the House of Commons April 19, 1774.

Horace Walpole said :

"You will not be surprised that I am what I always was, a zealot for liberty in every part of the globe, and consequently that I most heartily wish success to the Americans. They have hitherto not made *one* blunder; and the Administration have made a thousand, besides the two capital ones of first provoking and then of uniting the colonies. The latter seem to have as good heads and hearts as we want both." From a letter to Horace Mann, dated September 7, 1775. "Horace Walpole and His World"—Scribner's—page 152.

In a letter dated February 17, 1779, Horace Walpole says :

"Liberty has still a continent (America) to exist in. I do not care a straw who is minister in this abandoned country. It is the *good old cause of freedom* that I have at heart."

Isaac Barré, Member of Parliament, 1761 to 1790, said, in reply to Lord North's declaration that he would never think of repealing the Tea duty until he saw America prostrate at his feet :

"To effect this is not so easy as some imagine; the Americans are a numerous, a respectable, a hardy, a free people. But were it ever so easy, does any friend to his country really wish to see America thus humbled?

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In such a situation, she would serve only as a monument of your arrogance and your folly. For my part, the America I wish to see is America increasing and prosperous, raising her head in graceful dignity, with freedom and firmness asserting her rights at your bar, vindicating her liberties, pleading her services, and conscious of her merit. This is the America that will have spirit to fight your battles, to sustain you when hard pushed by some prevailing foe, and by her industry will be able to consume your manufactures, support your trade, and pour wealth and splendor into your towns and cities. If we do not change our conduct towards her, America will be torn from our side. . . . Unless you repeal this law, you run the risk of losing America."

David Hartley, Member of Parliament for Kingston-upon-Hull, in a speech in the House, May 15, 1777, concluded with these prophetic words :

". . . I will venture to prophesy that the principles of a federal alliance are the only terms of peace that ever will and that ever ought to obtain between the two countries."

On November 2, 1775, Mr. Hartley concluded another speech with these words :

"Let the only contention henceforward between Great Britain and America be, which shall exceed the other in zeal for establishing the fundamental rights of liberty for all mankind."

Jonathan Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph, in 1774, made a speech intended to have been spoken on the bill for altering the Charters of the Colonies of Massachusetts Bay :

"Let them continue to enjoy the liberty our fathers gave them ! Gave them, did I say? They are co-heirs of liberty with ourselves ; and their portion of the inheritance has been much better looked after than ours. My Lords, I look upon North America as the only great nursery of freemen now left upon the face of the earth. But whatever may be our future fate, the greatest glory that attends this country, a greater than any other nation ever acquired, is to have formed and nursed up to such a state of happiness those colonies whom we are now so eager to butcher."

Both Briton and American being now fully agreed that those who made the attempt to tax without giving the right of representation were wrong, and that in resisting this the colonists vindicated their rights as British citizens and therefore only did their duty, the question arises, Is a separation thus forced upon one of the parties, and now thus deeply regretted by the other, to be permanent ?

I cannot think so, and I crave permission to adduce some considerations in support of my belief that the future is certainly to see a re-union of the separated parts and once again a common citizenship.

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First, In race—and there is a great deal in race—the American remains three-fourths purely British. The mixture of the German, which constitutes substantially all of the remainder, though not strictly British, is yet Germanic. The Briton of to-day is himself composed in large measure of the Germanic element, and German, Briton and American are all of the Teutonic race.

The amount of blood other than Anglo-Saxon and Germanic which has entered into the American is almost too trifling to deserve notice, and has been absorbed without changing him in any fundamental trait. The American remains British, differing less from the Briton than the Irishman, Scotsman, Welshman and Englishman differ from each other. Englishmen, Scotsmen, Welshmen and Irishmen are all Britons, and the American (a term which of course includes the Canadian) entering among these would be as near the common type resulting from a union of the five as any of the other parts. Indeed the American in many respects resembles the Scotsman more than the Englishman does, and he also in other respects resembles the Englishman more than does the Scot. He resembles both Englishman and Scot much more than the Irishman resembles either. His introduction into a common British-American citizenship would not produce a resultant differing greatly from that of the present union of Scot, Welshman, Irishman and Englishman. The action of a Congress elected by all these elements would not differ much upon fundamental questions affecting the rights, liberties and privileges of the people, from a Congress of Americans sitting in Washington, or of Canadians in Ottawa or from the action of a British Parliament similarly elected sitting in London. No citizen of any of the present states, either British or American, would have reason to fear the loss of anything which he now holds dear. He could rest securely in the belief that his fellows of the other states could be trusted so to act that the united mass would not oscillate.

A feeling of confidence in each other among the respective communities of the race in Great Britain and America may be expected to grow, as political institutions continue to assimilate.

It is to be noted that only in the region of political ideas is there dissimilarity, for no rupture whatever between the parts has ever taken place in language, literature, religion, or law. In

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these uniformity has always existed; although separated politically, the unity of the parts has never been disturbed in these strong cohesive and cementing links. The books and periodicals read upon both sides of the Atlantic are rapidly becoming the same. The decision of one court is good law in all. Language remains uniform, every approved change in one part of the great realm rapidly being adopted throughout the English-speaking world. Religious ideas are the common property of the race. There seems nothing, therefore, to keep the sections of the race apart, but everything to re-unite them.

Second, No one questions that if, instead of eighteen hundred miles of water between America and Britain, there lay another Mississippi Valley, the English-speaking race would be one politically, since the federal system of government has proved that immense areas can be successfully governed under one head, and can exist as one power, the freest government of the parts producing the strongest government of the whole. The difference of land and water lying between people has hitherto been great, and, in the words of the poet, instead of mountains, we can say that

> **"Oceans interposed**
> **Make enemies of nations, who had else,**
> **Like kindred drops, been mingled into one."**

This is quite true of the past; but oceans no longer constitute barriers between nations. These already furnish the cheapest of all modes of communication between men. It has been my good fortune recently to travel from the Pacific Coast to Britain. The journey from San Francisco to New York was made in a moving hotel, in which our party travelled for six weeks and had every want supplied. The time necessary for the trip is five days. The other half of the journey, after a short rest at the Half Way House, New York, was performed in one of the best ocean greyhounds, the time consumed from land to land being only a few hours more than that required for the journey from San Francisco to New York. Over land and over sea we had travelled under the best conditions of to-day. No luxury was wanting. The moving hotel over the land was the best of its kind, as was the moving hotel over the water. The ocean voyage was by far the less fatiguing, and in every respect more comfortable than the overland journey.

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The future is, probably, to render travel by sea, if not quite as fast, yet more comfortable to people in general than land travel can possibly be made. The delegate to a conference at Washington, leaving Liverpool or Southampton, now reaches that city in just about the same time as the delegate from San Francisco, Seattle or Victoria on the Pacific Coast. At the time England and Scotland were united, Members of Parliament from the north of Scotland required as long to reach London. A short time ago many of the American Representatives to Congress consumed more time in reaching Washington than either of these. The time required is being lessened every year. The next three months are to see both the ocean and the land journey materially reduced.

Third, The telegraph connecting London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Cardiff, New Orleans, San Francisco, New York, Washington, Montreal, Quebec and Ottawa, bringing all into instantaneous communication, is the most important factor in rendering political reunion possible, and I venture to say inevitable. Without this agency it might well be doubted whether one central authority could act for all the scattered parts, but when events and problems as they arise, and the discussions upon them at the centre, can be instantly known at the extremities, and become everywhere the subject of contemporaneous debate and consideration, thus permitting the centre to influence the extremities and the extremities to respond to the centre, the pulse beat of the entire nation can be constantly felt by the government and all the people. No matter where the capital may be, it must still be omnipresent and in touch with all parts of the confederacy. Time is therefore no longer to be taken into account at all, and distance means but little when all can instantly hear everything that transpires.

Fourth, The advantages of a race confederation are so numerous and so obvious that one scarcely knows how to begin their enumeration. Consider its defensive power. A reunion of the Anglo-Americans, consisting to-day of one hundred and eight millions, which fifty years hence will number more than two hundred millions, would be unassailable upon land by any power or combination of powers that it is possible to create. We need not, therefore, take into account attacks upon the land; as for the water, the combined fleets would sweep the seas. The new nation would dominate the world and banish from the earth its greatest

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stain—the murder of men by men. It would be the arbiter between nations, and enforce the peaceful settlement of all quarrels, saying to any disputants who threatened to draw the sword :

> "Hold! I command you both ;
> The one that stirs makes me his foe.
> Unfold to me the cause of quarrel,
> And I will judge betwixt you."

Such a giant among pigmies as the Re-United States would never need to exert its power, but only to intimate its wishes and decisions. It would be unnecessary for any power to maintain either a great standing army or a great navy. The smaller nations having discovered that they would not be permitted to disturb the peace of the world would naturally disarm. There would be no use in maintaining large forces either for attack or defence when the Anglo-American had determined that no one should attack. I believe that the wisdom of the re-united nation and its regard for others would be so great as to give it such moral ascendency that there would be no disposition upon the part of any power to appeal from its decisions. All would acquire the habit of settling disputes by an appeal to this supreme Tribunal, the friend of all, the enemy of none, without thought of ever going beyond its decrees.

Fifth, There are higher though perhaps not more powerful considerations than the material benefits involved in reunion. Regarding these I should like Britons to consider what the proposed reunion means. Not the most sanguine advocate of "Imperial Federation" dares to intimate that the federation he dreams of would free the markets of all its members to each other. This question cannot even be discussed when Imperial Conferences meet. If it be introduced it is judiciously shelved. But an Anglo-American reunion brings free entry here of all British products as a matter of course. The richest market in the world is opened to Britain free of all duty by a stroke of the pen. No tax can be laid upon products of any part of the Union even for revenue, although under "free trade" such taxes might still exist. What would not trade with the Republic "duty free" mean to the linen, woollen, iron and steel industries of Scotland, to the tin-plate manufacturers of Wales, to the woollen and cotton, coal, iron, cutlery and steel industries of England? It would mean prosperity to

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every industry in the United Kingdom, and this in turn would mean renewed prosperity to the agricultural interest, now so sorely depressed.

Few except those engaged in manufacturing realize the position of Britain as a manufacturer in regard to the American market. The ocean, which many are still apt to consider a barrier between the two countries, is the very agency which brings them so close and will ultimately bind them together. Coal, iron, steel, and all kinds of merchandise from Britain reach American ports more cheaply than American manufactures produced within a hundred miles of these ports. Thus the coal, iron and steel from Glasgow, Hull, Newcastle or Liverpool, reach the cities of New Orleans, Charleston, Savannah, Richmond, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Boston and Portland more cheaply than the same articles mined or manufactured in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Tennessee or Alabama—the land carriage from these States being far greater than the ocean carriage from Great Britain. To the whole Pacific Coast Britain is so much nearer in cost as to give her under reunion the complete command of that market. In the event of reunion the American manufacturers would supply the interior of the country, but the great populations skirting the Atlantic seaboard and the Pacific Coast would receive their manufactured articles chiefly from Britain. The heavy products are taken from Britain to the United States in many instances as ballast for nothing. The freight charge is generally trifling. I do not hesitate to say that reunion would bring with it such demand for British products as would tax the present capacity of Britain to the utmost, for the products of Continental nations, which now compete so seriously with Britain, would be almost excluded even by a tariff strictly for revenue. There would not be an idle mine, furnace or factory in the land. The consumption of coal in the United States is already greater than in Britain; of iron and steel it is now fully double. Our consumption of tin plate exceeds that of all the rest of the world. The imports of British textile fabrics grow year after year. These never were so great as at present. The only nation which is taking more and more of British products is the Republic. The American market is enormous and constantly expanding. It is in vain that people in Britain hope for any radical change in the tariff laws. No party in the United States can or will make

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many material changes in these. Revenue will continue to be raised by duties upon imports as at present and chiefly upon the fine textile fabrics—the luxuries of the rich. There can be little question that nothing would so certainly insure the permanent prosperity of Britain as free access to the American market, which can be effected so easily through reunion, which would also bring with it enhanced value to land as the result of prosperity in all branches of British trade and industry; and were Britain and America again one the American would find the former the best summer home within his reach. Many would purchase such homes there and secure for themselves the delights of a beneficial change of climate and contact with a thousand sources of sweet influences only to be gained in the old home of the race. The prophecy of the *Spectator* made many years ago and just repeated would be fully realized, that the British American would find the old home his "restful park." It is not going too far to say that every kind of property in the sceptred isle and every business interest would be permanently doubled in value by reunion.

I do not shut my eyes to the fact that reunion, bringing free entrance of British products, would cause serious disturbance to many manufacturing interests near the Atlantic coast, which have been built up under the protective system. But, sensitive as the American is said to be to the influence of the dollar, there is a chord in his nature—the patriotic—which is much more sensitive still. Judging from my knowledge of the American manufacturers there are few who would not gladly make the necessary pecuniary sacrifices to bring about a reunion of the old home and the new. There would be some opposition, of course, from those pecuniarily interested, but this would be silenced by the chorus of approval from the people in general. No private interests, or interests of a class, or of a section of what would then be our common country, would or should be allowed to obstruct a consummation so devoutly to be wished.

If the question be judged in Britain by the material benefits certain to flow from it, never in all her history was such enormous material gain within her reach, and never as much as now has the future position of Britain so urgently required just such an assurance of continued prosperity. The development of manufactures in other lands seriously menaces her future. She has

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already lost much in cotton manufacture, which I fear is never to be regained. The product of iron has fallen from nearly nine to less than seven millions of tons. We see decreases written too often in her trade statistics which might be charged to the ebb and flow of industrial affairs, were they not accompanied by startling increases in like branches in competing nations.

Her position is the most artificial of all nations, islands that cannot grow half enough of food to feed her people, but which produce double the amount of manufactured articles they can consume. Such a nation in order to be secure of her future must have a market for these surplus articles and more land from which to draw food for her people. This is precisely what reunion offers—the most valuable and the most rapidly increasing market in the world for her manufactures, and the richest soil for the production of the food she requires. Reunion restores her to ownership in hundreds of millions of acres of fresh, fertile soil, the like of which is elsewhere unknown, reopens a market for her manufactures sufficient even to-day to absorb all her surplus.

Reunion will further benefit the United Kingdom in regard to debt and taxation, potent factors in the industrial race of nations. The national debt per capita of the United States, amounts to $14, that of Britain to $88, that of Canada to $48. The percentage of taxation in the United States, national, state, and local, to earnings was 5.04 last decade; in the United Kingdom, 9.03—nearly double. When the union is restored it will be upon the basis of uniting also the national debts as they stand, and making all a common obligation of the union, so that the United Kingdom would be relieved at once of the greater portion of its national debt, and of at least one-half of all its present heavy taxation, even if no reduction of expenditure resulted from having one general government, one army and navy instead of two. About one-fourth of all national taxation in recent years in the Republic has gone in payment of debt, and a much greater proportion recently for pensions, which are temporary, so that the current expenses of the general government will after a time not require more than one-half the present amount of taxation.

The only course for Britain seems to be reunion with her giant child, or sure decline to a secondary place, and then to comparative insignificance in the future annals of the English-speaking race,

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which is to increase so rapidly in America. Heaven forbid that she who has been and yet is so great, and still so deeply reverenced, should unwisely choose continued separation and tread a by-path apart leading to an inglorious career. Let her statesmen study the situation, therefore, and learn that reunion with her American children is the only sure way to prevent continued decline. Re-united with these, Britain takes a new lease of prosperity; decline is arrested and increase begins.

Sixth, The influence upon the individual citizen of power in the state and especially of power used for great and good ends is immeasurable. The conquering Briton has conquered more and more easily as he has had behind him more and more of a record of achievements of his race. "I am a Roman citizen" was a boast which made him who uttered it not only a greater Roman but a greater man. To develop heroes there must be occasions for heroism. To develop statesmen the state must have a great part to play in the world. Had the Republic remained a mere colony it would never have discovered its Franklin, Adams, Hamilton, and Hancock, and what would the world have known of Washington; what part could he have ever played to make him Washington? What would the world have known of that genius Lincoln, the greatest statesman of the century, or of many centuries, had he not been called upon to preserve the Republic, and with a stroke of the pen to make four million slaves freemen? In like manner Hampden, Pym, Elliott and Cromwell would have remained comparatively obscure men but for the part which it was possible for them to play upon so large a stage as Britain. What the British boy grows to be as a citizen largely depends upon how he is fashioned by knowing and dwelling upon the history of his country's triumphs and of its leaders in the past. What would the American boy become as a citizen if he had not his Washington and other revolutionary heroes to inspire him, and cause the blood to tingle in his veins as he reads the story of his country's struggle for independence? What kind of a man would the Scotsman be if bereft of the glorious history of his country and its sacrifices for the cause of civil and religious liberty? He is fed upon and becomes part of Wallace, Knox and Burns. Every state should aim to be great and powerful, and noble in the exercise of its power, because power in the state, nobly exercised, is the strongest influence in producing good and

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patriotic citizens. Every citizen, being a constituent part of the state under democracy, partakes in some measure of its greatness. A small and petty political unity tends to breed small and petty men of all classes ; dealing with great affairs broadens and elevates the character. All these and many other considerations plead for reunion.

Let us now consider the position and feelings of the various parts of the English-speaking world towards reunion, beginning with Canada. Canada would undoubtedly favor reunion. She would gladly reënter a race-federation of which Britain and the United States were again the other members. Therefore, it can be said of her : "She is ready."

Touching the United States, we find the American Union constantly adding States. The original thirteen have now swollen to forty-four. Other States, now in process of formation, will soon raise the number to fifty. So quietly are these admissions made that the Nation is scarcely aware of them. A convention of the people of a Territory decides to ask admission to the Union as a State ; Congress passes a bill of a few lines, which the President signs, admitting the new member. Elections are held in the new State for Governor, members of a State Legislature and officers of the State, and also for Representatives and Senators. The latter make their appearance in Washington, present their credentials, take the oath and their seat in the National Councils. There is nothing more to be done. The State attends to all its internal affairs and the General Government attends to all general matters. The American people are favorable to the extension of national boundaries. No evil, but great good, has come from every succeeding addition to their union. Therefore, a proposition to re-unite Britain and the Republic would not seem anything novel to them. They are used to territorial extension.

The reunion idea would be hailed with enthusiasm. No idea yet promulgated since the formation of union would create such unalloyed satisfaction. It would sweep the country. No party would oppose, each would try to excel the other in approval. Therefore, as of Canada, so of the Republic we can say : "She is ready."

Here we have two members out of the three secured. As far as these are concerned the question might be raised to-morrow. It is only when we approach the Old Home that we are compelled

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to recognize that it is not yet ripe for reunion. But this cannot even be said of all of its members. In one of the islands a proposal to become part of the great British-American Nation would be hailed with delight. We can safely say of Ireland: "She is ready."

The position of Scotland in the United Kingdom is that of a small state overshadowed by a great one. She is dissatisfied, and is to-day demanding power to govern herself after her own ideas. Her position as a State among the proposed States of the great Re-Union would be more desirable and infinitely more exalted and more independent in every respect than her present position as a State in the small Union of England, Ireland and Wales. And not one particle would she be less distinctively Scotland, than she is Scotland to-day. Indeed, she would be more Scotland than she is now Scotland, because the rights which a State in the Re-Union would hold are the rights of sovereignty. She would be supreme within her borders, with a National Parliament, and full control over her land, her Church, her education, and all her national institutions. She would only surrender to a General Parliament control of certain stated affairs of an international character. After a short campaign of explanation throughout my native land, I am confident we should be able to say of Scotland: "She is ready;" and what Scotland requires is all that Wales requires, when of her we could also say: "She is ready." Her status would also be raised, not depressed, by reëntering the Greater Union. Scotland would be more Scotland, Ireland more Ireland, Wales more Wales, than they are at present. What great difference would it make to Wales, Ireland and Scotland if their representatives to the Supreme Council should proceed to Washington instead of to London? Yet this is all the change that would be required, and for this they would have insured to them all the rights of independent States, and free access to the only market which can make and keep them prosperous.

The sole remaining member is England, and we confess that much has to be accomplished in the way of change before she can be induced to again accept the headship of the race as the oldest and most revered member in a great reunion which, however, she could not expect to dominate as she now dominates the present union of the three small states, containing less than one-third of her own population, which constitute with her the

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United Kingdom. But the Greater Union would be one in which although she could not be all-powerful, yet she would undoubtedly be first, and regarded with all the deference due to age and motherhood.

At first glance, the Briton who considers this question may feel that the proposed reunion would involve the giving up of his separate nationality, with its unequalled history, its triumphs and all that makes the sceptred isle the object of his love and admiration. There is nothing whatever in this. Not a line of the long scroll would be dimmed, not a word erased. The past cannot be obscured, and the future, under the proposed reunion with the other branches of her own race, may be trusted to be grander than the past, as the power and career of the re-united nation must be greater than that of any of its branches. Officials may be expected to denounce the idea of reunion, fearing that their positions under the new régime would be, not less dignified, but less likely to be theirs. But the people of Britain have no cause to fear that anything would be taken from them, and every reason to see that much would be added. We observe in the history of the world that patriotism is ever expansive. Centuries ago the people of Perugia and Assisi, fifteen miles apart, were deadly enemies, attacked each other and played at making war and treaties. Even St. Francis was wounded in one of these campaigns. The patriotism of the Perugian and the Assisian could not embrace an area so great as fifteen miles. To-day patriotism stretches over hundreds of miles, in some cases thousands of miles, and does not lose but gain in intensity as it covers a wider area. There is more to be patriotic about. The patriotism of to-day which melts when pushed beyond the shores of the island of Britain, may safely be trusted to partake in the near future of the expansive quality. It will soon grow and cover the doings of the race wherever situated, beyond the bounds of the old home. Professor Freeman, under the influence of this wider and nobler patriotism, has already been compelled to declare :

"He is no Englishman at heart, he has no true feeling of the abiding tie of kindred, who deems that the glory and greatness of the child (Republic) is other than part of the glory and greatness of the parent."

National patriotism or pride cannot, therefore, prove a serious obstacle in the way of reunion.

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It is to be carefully pondered that had separation never occurred it would long since have been necessary for the larger part of the population to be represented in the General Parliament. It is not conceivable that seventy millions of citizens upon one side of the Atlantic would consent to be governed by thirty-eight on the other. If they were so, they would prove themselves most undesirable members of any union. Free born Britons should have no union with such people. It is because they are British and masterful and will have equality with other Britons that it is desirable or even safe to unite with them. Long ere this, therefore, the representatives of seventy millions would be greater in number than the representatives of thirty-eight millions; and consequently the condition of England or even Britain in this Greater Britain could not have been that of one member overshadowing all the rest. When reunion takes place no one state can have such power. England would be more powerful than any six of the numerous states; but she would not be more powerful than all combined. Nor is it desirable that any one member should be so. If Britain were to stand for this it would be equivalent to saying that even if the American colonies had not seceded she herself would have seceded from them under the policy of rule or ruin and of refusal to consider her fellow citizens as political equals.

Numerous as would be the states comprising the re-united nation, each possessing equal rights, still Britain, as the home of the race, would ever retain precedence—first among equals. However great the number of the children who might sit around her in council, there could never be but one mother, and that mother, Britain.

To resolve to enter no federation of the race in which Britain's vote would not outweigh all the others combined would be to assign to Britain a petty future indeed, since the race cannot increase much in the United Kingdom and is certain to be soon numbered by hundreds of millions in America. "Think what we lost when we lost you," said a Briton recently to an American. "Ah," replied the American, "but just think what we lost." "What did you lose?" "Britain," was the reply. This was true; the loss was mutual—as the gain from reunion will be mutual. Each in losing itself will regain the other.

The impediments to reunion may here be mentioned and considered;

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First among these the great colonial empire, upon which Britain justly dwells with pride. The colonial, however, is a mere temporary stage in the development of nations. All colonies which prosper and grow ultimately develop into independent states. These always have done so, and they always will. It is certain that Australasia will have a new confederation if she fulfils the expectations of many as to her future growth. If, however, she does not increase in the future faster than she has been doing for some time, she will no doubt long remain as at present under the protectorate of the old land. There would be no objection to her remaining under the protection of the reunion. The numerous small settlements and dependencies could in like manner also remain. There is, therefore, no valid obstacle in the colonial feature.

India, with its grave responsibilities, remains. No branch of the race now clear of any share in these would willingly consent to become a partner in them. India, called the "Brightest Jewel in the Crown," may be "red" again some day. My experience in India, travelling as an American, gave me an insight into the forces and aspirations of its people which the citizen of the conquering nation is never permitted to obtain. The wisest and most cautious statesmanship alone can lead in peace the two hundred and eighty millions of India to self-government; and much has been done by the education of the people to render the bestowal of self-government upon them inevitable. British occupation of that vast country is necessarily temporary. Britain will ere long be relieved from its dangerous position there. The right of self-government will be granted to the people, who will be ready upon short notice to establish themselves as an independent power. There is really no longer any decided advantage to the parent land in colonies, or in dependencies like India, since there has been conferred upon these freedom of trade with all nations and the right to tax imports, even from the parent land. Britain retains the trade of these regions because she can best supply their wants and this she could do just as completely were they independent. Trade pays no attention to flags; it follows the lowest price current. India, therefore, can soon be placed upon the road to independence and the British-American Union would guide it to this as well as the present Union of the United Kingdom.

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The position of Britain in regard to European questions, which might alarm America, is rapidly changing. The doctrine of non-intervention is strong enough, even to-day, to give her practical immunity from participation in European wars. Were Britain part of the Re-United States all that she would be interested about in Enrope would be fully secured ; namely, the protection of her own soil and the command of the seas. No balance of power, no occupation of Egypt, or any similar question would be of the slightest importance. The re-united nation would be prompt to repel any assault upon the soil or the rights of any of its parts.

The monarchical form of government is admittedly a cause of disunion, but this form is not *eterne*. Scarcely a session of Parliament passes which does not in some department bring about an assimilation of political institutions to those of Canada and the United States. It is recognized by all that Britain is no longer a government of the few, but has really become in substance a democracy. A House of hereditary Legislators is of all present institutions probably destined to have the shortest life in Britain. The House of Lords is not effective as a legislative chamber, even to-day. With its abolition or reform the question of maintaining an hereditary head of the state will follow. The opinion is often expressed in Britain that the Prince of Wales is probably to be the last official sitting by hereditary right. It is said that this opinion has been expressed by the Prince himself. From what wise friends who know the Prince tell me, I am persuaded that he is the last man in the world to stand in the way of healing a separation which he so constantly deplores, and unless the estimate formed by all, of the patriotism, virtues and character of Her Majesty herself be strangely awry, she would give up much beyond her crown to be the peacemaker who brought reunion to her race. Strange almost beyond explanation is the fact that this woman, from one point of view bereft of political power, a mere instrument in the hands of her elected ministers, nevertheless is in this omnipotent. She is the only one who could by a sublime act reunite the separated branches of her race. Never in the history of the world has it been in the power of any human being to perform so great an act, or to secure so commanding a place among "the immortal few who were not born to die." All the saints in the calendar would give place to Saint Victoria were Providence

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to favor her by calling her to perform a mission so fraught with blessing to her people and to the world. There would be but two names set apart forever in the annals of the English-speaking race—names farther beyond all other names than any name now known to man is beyond that of all his fellows—Victoria and Washington—patron saints of our race; he the conqueror, who manlike drew the sword in righteous quarrel; she, womanlike, the angel of peace and reconciliation; each adding lustre to the other and equal in power and glory.

For such a mission and such a destiny even Queen Victoria on bended knee might pray.

In England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales a proposition to make all officials elective by the people after Victoria passes away, which God grant must be long is the prayer of every American, would command a heavy vote. It is thought by many that the majority would be great indeed in all the members of the United Kingdom for the abolition of hereditary legislators. Before the question of reunion is ripe for settlement in England there will remain no trace of hereditary privilege. As the *Scotsman* some years ago so well said: "Democracy means, and rightly means, that privilege shall cease."

There remains the question of the Established Church, which at present would create an insuperable obstacle to reunion; but it has already been abolished in one of the members of the United Kingdom, and is about to be abolished in another; and it is only a question of a few years ere it be also abolished in Scotland.

This leaves us again with only England as the obstructive member to reunion; but as with the House of Lords, the Colonial system, and the Monarchy, so with the Established Church, even in England. What has been adopted in three members of the United Kingdom will finally be adopted in the fourth. The tendency of the age is fatal to making any sect the favorite of the state. Equal protection to all, favor to none, is the doctrine in regard to religious bodies. The question of an Established Church in the one member, England, therefore, will not exist to prevent reunion.

We might from one point of view consider the idea of "Imperial Federation" an obstacle to reunion, but it is really a help, for the discussion of that question can only pave the way for the acceptance of the only desirable federation. It needs only to be

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pointed out to Britain that, granted Imperial Federation acquired, she would obtain little or no extension of markets and could then only hope to be a member of a union which comprised a very small portion of the race. The growth of the English-speaking race during the last ten years is ominous when considered in its bearing upon the Imperial Federation idea. In 1880 a federation of England and her colonies would have contained 42,308,843 people. The population of the Republic at that time was 50,155,783. Contrast now these figures with those of 1890. Imperial Federa- would have embraced in 1890, 46,437.974. The population of the Republic was then 62,622,250. Thus in ten short years the American Republic has added twelve and a half millions to its population; the members of the proposed "Imperial Federation" only four and a quarter millions. The United Kingdom increased only 2,638,000, Canada only 508,000, Australasia—Queensland, Victoria, New South Wales, New Zealand, Tasmania, etc.—combined, only 1,024,193, sundry small settlements the remainder.

Let it be assumed that the two branches increase in the same proportion as for the last ten years, and

1900 will show :—	Imperial Federation	50,600,000
	The Republic	78,100,000
1910 will show :—	Imperial Federation	55,600,000
	The Republic	97,600,000
1920 will show :—	Imperial Federation	61,100,009
	The Republic	122,000,000
1930 will show :—	Imperial Federation	67,200,000
	The Republic	152,500,000
1940 will show :—	Imperial Federation	73,900,000
	The Republic	190,600,000

This will be the result only fifty years hence, when men now in manhood will still be living.

If the estimate be carried forward for fifty years more, making the complete century, the figures will stand:

Imperial Federation	119,000,000
The Republic	581,000,000

We have considered here the two parts—Republic and Empire—as two solid bodies, the increase of the Republic, 1880 to 1890, having been 24.87 per cent., the Empire's average increase, 10 per cent.; the United Kingdom's increase—8.17—has been of course less than the average, Canada's increase, 11 per cent., just one per cent. above the average, and Australasia's percentage of increase much higher, 39 per cent. It is not probable that any of the parts in either Empire or Republic will maintain the past rate of increase; especially is it considered improbable by

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experts that the United Kingdom can increase much, since other countries are becoming better able to supply their own wants. Australasia has only added one million in ten years, and this chiefly in the first years of the decade. Her future, as the home of a great population, is not yet considered quite clear. Canada, under present conditions, is not likely to do more than maintain her slow rate of increase. The Republic seems likely to more nearly keep up its present rate of increase than the others, so that it is quite safe to assume that at least the relative difference between Imperial Federation and the United States, here indicated, will be maintained.

If Britain, America and Canada were to re-unite to-day, the population of the Reunion would be one hundred and eight millions. All the other parts of the English-speaking race would not number five millions. It is into such a complete race reunion of her people that the door is now wide open for the parent land to enter and take first place—first among equals. In view of this high destiny, hers for the asking, who is he among her citizens who can sit down and deliberately plan for his country such a future as these figures prove would be hers under Imperial Federation. I cannot understand how any true Briton can so far forget what is due to the mother land. No patriot surely can or will longer connect himself with a movement which has for its aim so miserable an end. If the Imperial Federationist be willing to unite with a few millions of people at the antipodes, who will not even entertain the idea of imports under free trade, much less "duty free," what objection can he raise to reunion with the main body of our race, only five days' sail from his shores, who offer not free trade only, which allows taxes upon imports for revenue, but entrance of everything duty free. I confidently appeal to the sterling patriotism which animates the Imperial Federationists and inspires them with ardent wishes for the future of their land to discard the narrow idea which tends to defeat their dearest hope. I beseech them to come with us who seek the reunion of all.

In the affairs of nations as well as in those of individuals there is a tide which not taken at the flood swings the ship of state from the main channel into the shoals and eddies where future progress is impossible.

It may confidently be expected there will arise in Britain a strong public sentiment protesting against the effort of some to

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relegate her to a subordinate rôle through an Imperial Federation which fails to federate the mass of the race.

From a review of the present position of the question we find that even to-day we can say Canada, the United States and Ireland are ready for reunion; that Scotland presents no great difficulty; neither does Wales, and both have everything to gain and nothing to lose by reunion; and that the causes of continued disunion which admittedly exist in England are rapidly vanishing and are all melting away like snow in the sunshine; the colonial empire, the Indian question, European entanglements present no insuperable obstacle, and hereditary privilege and a national church are doomed. The present generation is to find several of these obstructions abolished; the succeeding generation probably is to find no trace of any of them.

Let no man imagine that I write as a partisan in dealing with these questions. I know no party in this great argument either in America or in Britain. Whatever obstructs reunion I oppose, whatever promotes reunion I favor. I judge all political questions from this standpoint. All party divisions sink into nothingness in my thoughts compared with the reunion of our race.

The ground thus cleared in the only member in which it is now cumbered, there is presented to us the spectacle of three branches of the race, Britain, Canada, and America, formerly united and now enjoying similar institutions but remaining disunited. We seek in vain for any reason why the old quarrel should not be healed, why those separated by a difference which no longer exists should not let the dead past bury its dead, and once more unite as parts of one great whole, just as the two parts of the Republic, plunged into civil war by the question of slavery, have again united in bonds more loving and more enduring than ever; just as Scotland and England, after long wars and separate existence, have been united, to the incalculable advantage of both; just as the Provinces of Canada have united all the three branches in one Dominion, having had in their own histories experience of the evils and cost of separation and likewise of the advantages flowing from union. That each should now consider a reunion on a greater scale, and yet only a repetition of what each has already made upon a smaller scale, seems the most natural thing in the world. The residents of any member of the reunited nation will be nearer in time to the common centre than the residents of the

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north of Scotland were to London at the time of the union ; nearer than the residents of the extremities of the Republic were to Philadelphia when the Federal Union was formed. And in addition to this the citizen in any part of the new federation, by means of the telegraph, really will sit within the precincts of the Capitol ; almost, it might be said, within hearing of the proceedings of the national councils. Properly viewed, the reunion of the Briton, American and Canadian will be less of a step forward than was the union of Scotland and England, the union of the Provinces of Canada, or the American Union, the parts to be reunited by such a federation being in every true sense nearer together, and the new empire more compact, than were the parts of either of these three unions at the date of their origin.

The means by which reunion is to be accomplished are ready to hand. There is sitting at this moment in Paris a conference composed of delegates from London, Ottawa, and Washington charged by the three branches of our race to obtain a satisfactory basis for the preservation of the seals in Behring Sea. After their task has been concluded the same distinguished men, each among the foremost citizens of the respective branches, could meet in London and suggest a basis for restoring the union which only a century ago so happily existed between Britain, Canada and America and made them one nation. It would be so easy a task that its very simplicity amazes and renders us incredulous, but most of the important successes and most valuable discoveries have been remarkable for this very feature.

As easy as Le Cling's setting types, as easy as Franklin's drawing the lightning down, as Newton's divining the meaning of a falling apple, or Galileo of a swinging lamp, or Watts the raising of a kettle lid by the force of the escaping steam, as Spencer's survival of the fittest, as Darwin's origin of species, as Columbus sailing westward, or the making of the American Constitution—the Gordian knot is always easily cut, so easily that the only wonder is that it was not done before. Nothing mysterious, elaborate or difficult reaches to the root and changes the face of the world, or the trend of events. The road always lies broad, open, straight, obvious to all transcendent successes ; there is no hidden, tortuous and narrow path to anything truly great. Some day, therefore, delegates from the three now separated branches will meet in London and readily agree upon and report for

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approval and ratification a basis for the restoration of an indissoluble union of indestructible states.

This may all seem Utopian, but we have had many prophetic voices, concerning both Britain and America, more than fulfilled, which were at the time of their inspired utterance much wilder than anything herein suggested. It may be all a dream and I but a mere dreamer of dreams. So be it. But if it be true that he who always dreams accomplishes nothing, so also is it none the less true that he who never dreams is equally barren of achievement. And if it be a dream, it is a dream nobler than most realities. If it is never to be realized, none the less it should be realized, and shame to those who come after us if it be not. I believe it will be, for all progress is upon its side. All that tends to the brotherhood of man tends to promote it. The tendency of the age is towards consolidation. We have behind us and with us, urging its consummation, all the mighty forces of civilization. The Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World have already been hailed by the poet, and these mean a step much farther in advance of the proposed reunion of Britain and America than that reunion is in advance of the Canadian Confederation, of the American Union, or of the Union of England and Scotland, all already accomplished.

Readers will kindly note that this is A Look Ahead—how far ahead I shall not attempt to guess—nevertheless *it is ahead,* and sometime, somehow, it is to come to pass. I see it with the eye of faith, the faith of the devotee which carries with it a realizing sense of certain fulfilment.

Time may dispel many pleasing illusions and destroy many noble dreams, but it shall never shake my belief that the wound caused by the wholly unlooked for and undesired separation of the mother from her child is not to bleed forever.

Let men say what they will, therefore, I say that as surely as the sun in the heavens once shone upon Britain and America united, so surely is it one morning to rise, shine upon, and greet again "The Re-united States," "The British-American Union."

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

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POLICE PROTECTION AT THE WORLD'S FAIR.

BY R. W. M'CLAUGHRY, GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT CHICAGO POLICE, AND BY JOHN BONFIELD, CHIEF SECRET SERVICE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

I.

IT IS of the greatest importance that the people who propose to visit Chicago to see the World's Columbian Exposition shall feel that they will be reasonably protected, as to their persons and property, during their sojourn in the city. For this reason, a brief statement of the preparations made, to that end, by the municipal government of Chicago will be of interest at this time.

The administration that has just closed kept steadily in view the necessity of ample preparation for the work that will be expected of the different departments of the city during the next six months, and shaped its policy accordingly. The new administration has been organized with the purpose of giving to Chicago a government that shall be most helpful to the success of the great Exposition, as well as to the comfort and happiness of all who visit it.

The police force of Chicago has certainly proved itself worthy to be considered a good one. It has, up to this time, been equal to all the emergencies that have arisen. It handled the vast crowds upon our streets and in the Fair grounds during the dedication of the Exposition buildings with care, humanity and good judgment, winning the praise of citizens from all parts of the country as well as the commendation of the people of Chicago. The criminal classes were looked after closely, and very few complaints of robberies were made. Noted thieves who came, expecting to reap a rich harvest during Dedication week, found themselves at once recognized and in immediate receipt of marked attention from the police authorities. The result was that most of them left town without waiting for the dedication services.

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With the beginning of the present year the City Council provided for a large increase of the police force. Our detective force has also been largely recruited from the most experienced men in other cities, both in this country and abroad, and arrangements have been completed so that the force, thus equipped, will work in entire harmony with the large and well-selected body of special detectives that has been organized under the auspices of the Exposition authorities, for duty in and about the Fair grounds.

The city has been carefully districted throughout, and the uniformed as well as the secret service force so distributed as to secure prompt and effective service in every quarter. The men have been thoroughly drilled. Schools of instruction for officers and patrolmen have been maintained in all the stations. Special efforts have been made throughout the past year to rid the force of unworthy and useless members. The new recruits have been mustered in only after rigid examination and careful inspection. They thoroughly understand that they can keep their places only by merit.

Some three years ago the department adopted the system of anthropometric identification and classification of criminals, invented by M. Alphonse Bertillon, of Paris, and established for the city a bureau of identification. This bureau has, within the past year, been greatly enlarged and improved. It now contains photographs, measurements, and otherwise accurate descriptions of many thousands of the most noted living criminals of the United States and other countries. By a wonderful system of classification these descriptions are so arranged as to be available in a moment, thus enabling the operator to turn at once to the record of the criminal whose measurement he is taking, if he has ever before been recorded in the collection, and confront him with his complete identification. From the principal prisons of the country, from the collections in every large city of the United States, Canada, and Mexico, and from foreign cities, these records have been diligently collected for many months past by an agent of the Police Department, until nearly every known criminal who is likely to visit Chicago during the World's Fair is "on record," and will find himself "registered" before selecting his hotel.

It is confidently expected that the policy of the police magistrates will be shaped to afford the greatest assistance possible, consistent with the law, to the Police Department; that offenders

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will be dealt with promptly; that the "law's delay," which is so often invoked to defeat justice, will be greatly abridged if not totally abolished; that those who come to prey upon the community during the Fair will find their contest with the civil authorities "short, sharp and decisive," resulting in their enforced seclusion during the entire period of the Fair.

It would not, perhaps, be wise to give, in detail, a statement of all that has been done by the police and other municipal authorities to meet the responsibilities and emergencies of the next six months, but it may be stated, with entire confidence, that ample preparation has been made, in every direction, for such protection of our guests as will warrant them in entering our gates without apprehension, and will cause them to depart with reluctance and with praises on their lips, not only for the management of the great Exposition but for the municipal government of the "Garden City."

R. W. McClaughry.

II.

Police protection, like any other form of safeguard for persons and property, is more effectively rendered in forestalling crime than in remedying evils that have been incurred. The organization of the whole system of fire, police and secret service within the Exposition grounds has been based on the knowledge that its greatest value lies in the prevention of crime, the prevention of fires, and the detection of criminals before they can commit crime. The subject under consideration is limited to the secret-service branch of the organization—a branch designed to prevent professional and amateur criminals from following their trade within the gates. Naturally, too, it is intended to work in the most harmonious way with the Chicago department of police under General Superintendent McClaughry, on lines that will be described later.

The Exposition secret service is a branch of the physical force of the Fair, under the Department of Works, deriving its authority from the State, operating on park territory and still within the jurisdiction, to a degree, of the city police authority. The preliminary study of the subject made by the Chief of the

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Secret Service soon after his appointment showed that the department would necessarily have to be organized on the very broadest plans, because the size of the crowd expected, and the *temporary influx of strangers from every quarter of the globe,* presented a problem of international significance. The experience of the authorities at every universal exhibition showed that such affairs invariably attract an international gathering of the dangerous classes of society. Naturally, the greatest proportion of these undesirable visitors is to be expected from the cities of the United States; and the problem resolved itself into the detection and arrest of depredators from the cities of this country having a census population of 25,000 or more, and the immediate arrest of the same class of visitors from the great cities of Europe.

Considering the situation in its varied aspects, the department issued a circular letter to the police authorities in the cities of this country and Europe, asking them to detail two men from each city to serve under the department during the Exposition period, the salaries of the men to be continued by their home departments, and their transportation and an allowance for expenses to be paid by the Exposition during the term of service. The invitation was also extended to the management of the great penal institutions of this country.

In almost every case the letter met with immediate and prompt response. It was obvious to those addressed that such an opportunity for the study of criminals and methods of detection would be of the greatest possible value to the men detailed for the special service, and the opportunity was of exceptional value because it meant the comparison of methods in use in all the great cities of this country and Europe. In response to the invitation some six hundred men and more have reported for duty, and have been organized under the proper officers.

The plan of operation is much the same as in regular city service, except that the small area to be covered, and the comparatively limited opportunity for escape, gives the department every advantage in its dealings with thieves, pickpockets and their confreres. The park is subdivided into six districts. Each district is provided with its own station, and a telephone connecting it with the central station at the Chief's headquarters. The men are assigned to duty in pairs, care being taken to arrange the de-

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tails so that no two men from the same geographical section shall travel together. For instance, the officer from San Francisco is paired with one from London, Paris, New York, or some other large Eastern city of this country. The object of this arrangement is two-fold : it doubles the detective capacity of the men, and at the same time gives them the advantage of a study of each other's methods. The San Francisco officer points out the criminals from his section of the country, and the London officer in turn is ready to receive criminals from home, and see to it that his occidental companion knows them well enough to remember them when he sees them again. To extend the operation of the general scheme still further, the details are shifted every month or oftener if need be, so that when the whole term of service is over the different members of the force will have had the acquaintance of officers from all over the immense territory represented in the department, with the attendant knowledge of criminals who come within the gates.

These are the details of the organization so far as they may be announced without affecting the efficiency of the service. If a criminal happens to enter the gates of the Exposition he will find the odds very much against the successful pursuit of his calling. Officers detailed for the purpose will be stationed at every gate and entrance in citizen's clothes, to report such arrivals. If by any chance the unwelcome visitor passes the gate without detection, he is apt to meet an officer from his own home at any point within the grounds. And if, in spite of these chances against him, he picks a pocket, or attempts to steal anything, an alarm will find the gates at every point of exit furnished with a description of the offender. Such an alarm, with the compact territory to be guarded, practically shuts the criminal within a trap where nothing but the most remarkable good luck on his part can save him from detection, arrest and punishment. What makes the malefactor's operations more difficult and more certain of detection is the fact that nowhere within the gates can he find a place in which he can disguise himself without arousing suspicion and multiplying his chances of arrest.

When a suspicious character is arrested he will receive the hospitality of the city, and the benefit of the Bertillon system of identification mentioned in Superintendent McClaughry's article on the city's arrangements. Under that system he has very little

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chance of escaping identification if he is an old offender, and if he is a new hand in crime he will be recorded, so that his future scope of operations will necessarily be limited. It is the intention of the Exposition secret service to coöperate with the city authorities so actively that any subject of arrest will be handed over to them, for punishment if proved guilty, and for warning and probable expulsion when conviction is impossible, if the records show the prisoner to be of the habitual criminal class.

Given such a disadvantage as outlined, given the wide-reaching acquaintance possessed by the department collectively, and it seems scarcely probable that any large number of criminals will venture to expose themselves to the almost certain punishment or expulsion that awaits their appearance. In an experience that covers a considerable knowledge of criminals and their habits, I have never known them to venture into surroundings where the risks were so disproportionately large as compared with the gains offered in case of success. The expert thief or pickpocket, confidence man, or his associates, has as keen a sense of proportion as the broker or banker. His calculations are always based on the ratio between the possible gain and probable loss. Taking this into consideration, I feel safe in predicting a comparatively small attendance of the dangerous classes, and a large percentage of detections among those who do attend. If the question is put point blank, as to the protection offered the visitors from without the city of Chicago, the answer may be made without hesitation that the persons and property of strangers will be as safe during the extraordinary crowds of the summer as they are in ordinary times. The conditions will be unusual, of course, but the precautions are also so unusual as to guarantee more than average protection to the guests of the city and the Exposition.

JOHN BONFIELD.

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THIRTY KNOTS AN HOUR TO EUROPE.

POSSIBILITIES OF SPEED ON THE ATLANTIC.

BY J. H. BILES, PROFESSOR OF NAVAL ARCHITECTURE, UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW, AND DESIGNER OF THE "PARIS" AND THE "NEW YORK."

THE speed of Atlantic steamships has become a subject of national interest to Americans, for a majority of the cabin passengers carried belong to the United States. But until a few weeks ago, when the "Paris" and "New York" were transferred to the new American Line from the old Inman Line, there was not a vessel in the trade flying the American flag or representing, except to a very small extent, American capital. It is now no secret that these two vessels were projected and owned by Americans and would have carried the American flag from the time they were launched had the laws of the United States been the same in relation to ships as they are in Great Britain. Recent legislation in the States has now, however, made it possible for the owners of the "New York" and the "Paris" to construct a fleet of similar vessels in America which shall have a reasonable prospect of giving a proper profit to their owners, and shall make possible a bi-weekly service of steamers to Europe, by means of which Americans shall be enabled to travel in American-built and American-owned ships at as high a speed as engineering science can give, consistently with the condition of securing a fair interest upon the money invested in such ships.

To decide what that speed shall be is the problem which must be attempted by those who are responsible for insuring a proper profit upon the money spent. Given, that a certain average number of passengers, paying an average rate of so many dollars, will present themselves to be carried, and that a certain number of tons of freight will be forthcoming, which will add a cer-

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tain amount to the earnings of the shipowner, it is then within the power of the manager of such a line of steamers to say how much he can spare, from the money so received, to pay for means of propulsion, insurance, depreciation, repairs, and interest on first cost. From such figures he could readily determine the speed, beyond which the interest would not be earned. But no one can say with any degree of accuracy how many passengers will travel if ships are run at speeds much in excess of present ones, or how much the existence of a regular bi-weekly service of high-speed ships would develop traffic which at present does not exist. So the questions of speed and volume of trade react upon each other in a way which it is difficult to foresee.

The attempt to attain increased speed must therefore be looked upon commercially as being more or less of an experiment. The increased cost of producing the increased speed can only lead to a commercial success if that increased speed is accompanied by an increase in the volume of trade. This increased volume of trade must be of advantage to the country whose flag the ship flies, as well as to the shipowner whose enterprise has produced the ship. The shipowner cannot tell whether his ships will pay until they have actually been at work for some time, and have really developed the increased traffic, so that he, unaided, practically takes all the risk. If, however, the people or their representatives take a wide enough view of this question, they may assist the shipowner by subsidy to enable him to minimize the risk of commercial failure. If the traffic develops sufficiently to insure commercial success, the country will probably have gained much more than it has paid for, and will be in a condition to continue the assistance to the shipowner, provided that he continues to take such steps as shall insure from time to time a continued increase of speed.

Thus, the first element of increased speed is the reduction of the risk of commercial failure. Government subvention, judiciously given, seems to be the most certain way, and will be in the end the cheapest way for a country to obtain increased speed in its cross-sea means of transportation. For many classes of freight, and probably for some classes of passengers, the increase of speed would not be accompanied by an increase in the volume of trade. With such complete telegraphic communication as now exists, rapid transit of freight of many kinds is of small import-

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ance. The volume of these goods coming into a country may be carried by a small number of ships moving at a high rate of speed, or by a larger number moving at a slower rate. The question of the cheapest method of moving these goods is of more importance than the speed at which they are moved. It is very much like the flow in a pipe of water to a city. It may be done by means of a small pipe, the velocity of the water being great, and the loss of energy by the friction of the water in the pipe being also great. Or it may be done by means of a large pipe, the water moving in it slowly. In the latter case the loss will be less, but the first cost of the pipe will be more, and only the experienced engineer can tell just at what point the advantage of increased size of pipe and reduced speed balances the disadvantage of increased first cost. So it is in freight such as grain, coal, cotton, etc., where the total volume delivered into a country is all that the receivers are interested in. The question of the size of ship, the number and speed of the ships, is one that depends upon the relation of what may be called loss by friction in running (in other words, the expense of getting the freight through the water) to the first cost of the machine necessary to do the work.

This problem is modified to some extent by the distance which the cargo has to be transported. Some of the weight carried is necessarily the fuel to propel the ship and cargo. Hence the cargo delivered is really the weight put on board, less the amount of coal consumed on the way. When the distance is short and the speed not great, the amount of coal burnt is small, and the net cargo delivered is not much reduced. If the cargo be carried at a high speed, the amount of coal burnt on the way is naturally much more than at a low speed. But if the distance be short the total deduction of cargo-carrying is not large whether the speed be high or low, and consequently for short distances the loss of cargo-carrying due to high speed is not great. The number of voyages is increased with the higher speed, and the amount of cargo delivered per year is thereby correspondingly increased. Hence for short distances and a given size of ship, cargo can be carried at a higher speed than it can for longer distances, with the same commercial efficiency.

If for cargo we substitute all the part of a ship which goes to make up passenger convenience, comfort and accommodation, the same proposition will hold good. All these things mean weight,

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and though they are not removable, as cargo is, they can be treated for sea-going purposes in exactly the same way.

Hence, one of the possibilities of increased speed lies in reducing the length in miles of the sea passage. Suppose that it were desirable to sail from Halifax to Galway instead of from New York to Southampton or Liverpool, the distance would be reduced by about eight hundred miles. In one of the present twenty-knot vessels, such as the "Paris," the amount of coal saved would be over five hundred tons. This saving of coal could be represented in a new ship of the same dimensions by an addition to the motive power, and consequently to the speed also. This increase of speed again in its turn would reduce the quantity of fuel carried, on account of the reduced time during which the ship would be burning coal. The speed gained for these reasons would be almost a knot an hour. Hence from a change of the length of sea passage we have a gain in speed per hour, which would on the New York and Queenstown route be equivalent to a shortening of time by seven hours. The time required to do the reduced distance at the increased speed would be four and a half days. Whether such a route, with its increased number of changes of vehicles, will ever become commercially a success need not be dealt with in this connection. The point to be noticed is that the shortening of the distance to be run tends to increase the speed per hour of the run, and is, therefore, one of the possibilities of augmented ocean speed.

It can readily be seen that, as most of our high-speed vessels carry some cargo, the same increase of speed which is gained by carrying a reduced quantity of fuel may be gained by carrying an amount of cargo reduced by the same quantity. Thus, the fastest ships, which at present carry one thousand to fifteen hundred tons of cargo, could have had one knot per hour more speed if their weight-carrying capability had been reduced by five hundred tons. It must not be supposed that this result could be attained in the present ships by merely omitting to take five hundred tons of their cargo. These five hundred tons must be replaced by additional motive power before this extra knot can be got. But the point to be noted is that the possibility of increased speed lies in the abandonment of all cargo-carrying in high-speed passenger steamers. No doubt there are some classes of cargo which require to be transported at a high rate of speed. But if

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it is considered desirable to have ships which shall carry passengers and mails at the highest possible rate of speed, then cargo-carrying must be relegated to slower ships. Here, then, is another possible increase of speed. Could our fastest ships replace their cargo by motive power, they could add from one and a half to two knots per hour to their speed.

The possible increases of speed already named are dependent upon matters which the shipowner must determine and decide. But the marine designer will probably be expected to supply his share of possibilities. He can do nothing to lessen the actual distance between the points of departure and arrival, unless he is considered responsible for wild steering and its consequent increase of the distance actually run. How much is lost from this cause it is very difficult to determine, but when record-breaking depends on minutes in a run of six days, good steering must be an important factor. But if distance cannot be shortened by the designer he can take an important share in reducing the weight to be carried. The introduction of steel and the economy of the triple expansion engine have enabled him to add knots to the speed of Atlantic ships.

Steel of greater strength than that now commonly used for shipbuilding was adopted for special parts of some warships somewhere in the sixties, but it was not until 1875 that steel, as we know it, was an assured success. Its price at that time was three times its present price. To-day we have a metal known as nickel steel, which occupies the same position in relation to the steel of common use to-day that that steel did to iron in 1875. It is just the same price to-day that steel was then. It is, at this price, 40 to 50 per cent. stronger than ordinary steel, which was, in its turn, 40 to 50 per cent. stronger than iron. Shall we get this metal into common use in the next ten years ? If we do, we shall be able to add a knot an hour to our new steamers by its introduction. This possibility of increased speed would probably have become an accomplished fact in the new American Line vessels, were it not for the great first cost of the metal. But we ought to be able to take full advantage of this superior metal in some of the vessels which will be built in the next ten years.

In the machinery which propels the vessel we do not seem to be within sight of any great development which will, *per se*, be the cause of increase of speed. There has been a steady increase

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of efficiency of mechanism in the last ten years. The number of revolutions of our best engines has been steadily increasing, the fastest vessels averaging ninety revolutions per minute as against sixty in the early part of the last decade. This means that we are getting more work out of the same-sized machinery. This development will slowly continue, but whether it will reach any large advance upon present practice seems doubtful. The advantage of this development cannot easily be expressed in knots per hour, but it has within itself the possibility of increased speed.

The boilers which give the steam to the machinery are much more susceptible of modification.

There are many types used at present for different purposes, and so much do they vary that some types give three times as much work for every ton of weight that others give. Unfortunately it happens that the boilers in present use are of the heaviest type, and though marine engineers are most anxious to get as much work out of every ton of weight as possible, there has not yet been sufficient experience of continuous sea-going work to justify the adoption of the lighter types of boiler on a large scale. Experiments have been made on board ship with varying success, but these experiments have been almost completely confined to ships of war, where the object sought has rather been to attain the greatest power for a short period than to find what results could be maintained over long periods, such as an Atlantic steamer must be capable of undertaking. Until some one undertakes an experiment with the lighter types of boilers in a vessel which has to perform long-steaming operations, it is not likely that a considerable reduction in the weight of boilers due to a change of type can take place. There is every inducement on the part of those owners of fast Atlantic ships, who are anxious to have still faster ships, to get such an experiment tried.

The results of trials under favorable conditions of different kinds of boilers can be taken as a measure of their relative steaming capabilities. If it can be shown that some one particular type of light boiler of the many which have been tried is capable of reproducing at sea over long distances the superiority which it has shown on trial, then we shall have at once a possible increase of speed due to the adoption of this type of boiler. If, for instance, the locomotive type of boiler, with which nearly all tor-

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pedo boats are fitted, can be shown to give on prolonged voyages only two-thirds of its relative superiority on trial, we have at once the possibility of more than a knot an hour of increased speed. This type of boiler is one of the lightest of a class known as tubular boilers, in which the water is outside of the tubes and the fire is inside. There are some very successful boilers of a class known as the tubulous boilers, where the water is inside the tubes and the fire is outside. The performance of these boilers in relation to weight is much better than any of the tubular type. The development of this type promises to be more rapid in America than in Europe, and we may see before long the New World leading the Old in this matter. When this happens the reward of higher speed will certainly follow.

The machinery and boilers are the part of the motive power which is the product of man's skill. The other part is the fuel. The details of the machinery are modified by the kind of fuel which man selects as the best. Hitherto the generally-adopted fuel has been coal. The amount of work done per ton of coal varies considerably, but, except in the matter of expense, there is obviously no reason for selecting for use on shipboard any coal but that which gives the largest amount of work per ton of weight. At present in the fastest ships it is found advantageous to use the most efficient coal, even though the cost per ton is more than fifty per cent. higher than that of fairly-efficient coal. Five per cent. gained in efficiency per ton of coal means nearly a quarter of a knot in speed on a twenty-knot vessel, or nearly two hours on the run between New York and Queenstown. It is therefore obvious that complete knowledge of the work-producing capabilities of the different kinds of fuel is an absolute necessity on the part of the marine designer in order that he may give as much machinery and boiler power as possible consistent with carrying just sufficient coal to enable the vessel to complete her voyage at her highest possible speed. Any deviation from this proper division can only be made at the expense of speed. Too little coal will cause a reduction of speed, as the fuel will have to be economized and power reduced in order to complete the voyage. Too much fuel means that a weight of coal will remain at the end of the voyage which would have served to increase the speed had it been employed partly as extra machinery and partly as extra fuel to drive the extra machinery.

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The possibility of obtaining a greater amount of work per ton of fuel is dependent partly upon the possibility of the improved combustion of the fuels at present in use, and partly upon the possibility of the adoption of other fuels with improved work-producing capabilities. It is to the former possibility that attention has been directed within the last few years. The principles of the combustion of coal in boiler furnaces are beginning to be better understood. The adoption of forced draught in various forms has directed attention to the better utilization of the heat which can be developed by this method, and also to the more economical production of that heat. To obtain some measure of the possibilities of increased work by improvements of this nature, it may be stated that boilers of the ordinary marine type have been successfully worked on land for several consecutive days under conditions which gave at least fifty per cent. more work per ton of boiler than our best marine boilers are at present giving. The amount of coal burnt in relation to the work done was better than in ordinary practice; but the point to be noted is that the improved methods of combustion and of utilizing of heat, together, enabled a very much greater amount of work per ton of boiler to be maintained. Whether an equivalent improvement can take place in the results of combustion by these methods in the lighter types of boilers already referred to has not been demonstrated, but there are valid reasons for supposing that such can be obtained. If, therefore, we can combine the advantage of the lighter boiler, with the improved methods of combustion, we may obtain an increased amount of work per ton of boiler and a consequent further increase of speed.

As to the possibility of adopting other fuels than coal, there can be no doubt that for the purpose of getting a ship across the Atlantic at the quickest speed there is at least one fuel that would attain this purpose better than coal. The burning of petroleum in boilers has long since passed beyond the experimental stage as an engineer's question. The cost of this fuel has prevented its adoption as a steam-producing agent everywhere except in the oil-producing regions. It is stated that the supplies are so limited that it is impracticable to adopt oil for ships, as the enormous quantities that would be required would soon make the prices prohibitive. Experiments on an extensive scale have shown that one ton of oil will do as much work as two tons of the best coal.

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Here, then, we have a means of saving one-half of the weight of fuel to be carried. The weight saved can be utilized to give a knot and a half more speed.

The question of adopting oil for the purpose of obtaining increased speed in trans-Atlantic travel is one which cannot fail to be interesting to Americans. If the greatest attainable speed is of national importance and that attainment is only possible by the use of oil fuel, the nation possessing the control of oil supplies can, other thiugs being equal, have the fastest ships as long as oil maintains its superiority as a fuel. The supply of oil to these ships at a commercially practicable rate would have to be insured. This might only be practicable by preventing its use for other purposes of less importance nationally. But there are other difficulties which have first to be overcome before oil as a fuel for fast passenger steamships can be generally adopted, not the least of which is the accustoming of passengers to the idea that an oil-fuel ship is as safe as a coal-fuel one. The engineering difficulties are not great, and a much more conveniently-worked ship could be designed if oil fuel were adopted.

In the foregoing some possibilities of increased speed have been enumerated. They may not all be cumulative in their effect, but we may roughly say that should the nickel-steel become cheap enough, and should a lighter type of boiler, such as the locomotive type, become a certain success for continuous sea-going work, the speed may be increased by two knots above present speeds. If oil be the fuel used, the speed may be increased three and a half knots. In other words, the time record from Sandy Hook to Queenstown would be reduced from five days fifteen hours to four days sixteen hours.

The foregoing remarks are on the assumption that no increase is made in the dimensions of the vessels at present doing their tweuty knots average sea speed. If any of the principal dimensions, length, breadth, or draught of water be increased, there is a further possibility of increasing speed. Length is the most valuable addition which can be made with a view to increasing speed. Strange as it may seem, it is possible to make some particular forms of vessels go faster for the same engine power by adding to their length. It is possible with some forms to double all their dimensions and to obtain the same speed for half the power. This does not hold in the case of vessels of the form

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of our best Atlantic liners. But fifty feet added to the length of one of them, while adding nearly ten per cent. to its gross money-earning capabilities, would not necessitate an addition of more than four per cent. to the engine power to attain the same speed.

Draught is a most valuable addition to a vessel's potentialities for speed, almost as valuable as length. The limitations upon the dimensions of vessels which are due to harbor and dock accommodations are gradually becoming less. But the limitation which retreats least rapidly is that of draught. If we could have added four feet to the draught of our present steamers, making their loading draught thirty feet instead of twenty-six, they could have been designed to have a speed of one and a quarter knots more, or to have a gain of about eight hours on the run across. The harbor authorities on the English side are increasing their draughts. Southampton will very shortly have facilities for vessels of thirty feet draught at all times of the tide.

Increased breadth is not so productive of increased speed as increased length and draught, although breadth must be increased as draught increases.

If, therefore, in addition to improvements in fuel and machinery, it is possible to increase dimensions, we may look for very considerable increases of speed. If the commercial conditions can be fulfilled there is every reason to expect much higher speeds in the next ten years. The fulfilment of the necessary commercial considerations should be insured by the nation. The increase of speed is increase of postal facilities, and the delivery of passengers is postal work in its widest sense. The risk of commercial success in the matter of delivery of letters has been taken by the Government of all civilized countries, and it is not probable that private enterprise could do as well as the postal authorities now do. It does not therefore seem unreasonable to look to the nation to give encouragement to the increase of speed by taking a large share of the risk which accompanies the endeavor to attain this increase. The recent arrangements made by the United States Government to encourage the building of mail steamers in America is a recognition of this principle, but it seems to go scarcely far enough. Take, for instance, the North Atlantic mail service, for which several twenty-knot ships are to be built. Great inducement is offered to make these vessels attain 20-knot speed, but no inducement whatever is given to make them

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do more. Hence the arrangements so admirably made to give 20-knot ships will tend to prevent higher speeds from being sought for. If something more should be done in this direction by offering an additional subsidy for each successive increment of speed, obtained above the contract amount, as is done already in the case of the war ships built for the United States Navy, there would then be a very considerable chance of progressive increase of speed. To a nation which is spending so much upon commerce-destroyers, such as the "Columbia," it would be a trifling matter to spend a comparatively small additional sum per year to alter the character of their mail contracts so that a steady development of increased speed should be encouraged. If this were done, the mail steamers would be of more service in time of peace and more formidable in time of war when used as armed cruisers.

The question may now naturally be asked, Should all the possibilities indicated herein be fulfilled, what speed are we likely to reach in, say, the next ten years? Shall we add as many knots per hour to the best speed in the next ten as has been done in the last? Ten years ago the time to cross from New York to Liverpool was practically eight days. The best that has been done up till now is a little over six days. Will the best time in ten years hence be a little over four days? There seems to be good reason to believe that it will be. To leave New York at noon and arrive at Southampton at noon on the fourth day out necessitates a speed of thirty knots an hour. A vessel 1,000 feet long, 100 feet wide, with a draught of water of thirty feet, with a structure built of stronger steel than that at present adopted, with lightened boilers, with oil or some equally light fuel instead of coal, and with the steady general improvements in methods of construction and management of ships and machinery, such a vessel will be capable of crossing the Atlantic in a little over four days. The design of such a vessel will involve the consideration of many problems of structural detail, but there is nothing insuperable in any of the difficulties which will accompany such a project. Whether the carrying out of such a work will be done in the Old or in the New World time can only show, but when it is undertaken, whether by the Old or the New, there is no reason to doubt that it will be successfully carried out.

J. H. Biles.

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REFORM OF THE DRINK TRAFFIC.

BY THE REV. W. S. RAINSFORD, D. D.

THE criticisms and suggestions on my article in the May number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, though very numerous, may, I think, without any discourtesy to the writers, be classified under a few heads.

"Let there be a holy church in every village, but also an equally holy tavern with a devout man as tapster, serving in the fear of God," says one, quoting Ruskin. And at the other extreme is the well-meaning and zealous reformer, who assures us that "every clergyman who uses liquor of any sort as a beverage destroys his usefulness in saving his fellows."

Some of the suggestions made are of weight. I shall try to go over the ground they cover as briefly as I can, begging the readers of THE REVIEW, as I do, so again to remember that I am very far from claiming anything like a comprehensive knowledge of this most difficult of modern questions; and that I do not even propose any plan or method of Temperance Reform which professes to serve as a panacea for so deep rooted an ill.

The fundamental mistake of nearly all reformers seems to me to be an unwise haste. Quick methods are apt to be superficial; they may cut off the nettle at the head, while they leave the root still vigorous and untouched.

Several of my correspondents urge the universal acceptance of one or other of certain semi-scientific cures, and cannot see any reason why the clergy or temperance reformers should not publicly advocate the application of such methods to those suffering from alcoholism. Such action, however, would be quite unwarranted. The scientist must apply his rigid tests, the practitioner pursue his experiments; and when the results and conclusions arrived at by both are placed before us, it will be time enough for public teachers to urge on the public the use of such aids as have been proved to be reliable and safe. Science may yet discover for us some means by which the tendencies of hereditary

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alcoholism may be counteracted, means by which the man who wishes to break the yoke from his neck may win new strength and take a new start. But there does not seem to be evidence that any method of treatment yet resorted to always does good, while it has been proved that in many cases some of the "cures" are highly dangerous, and the temperance reformer will do well to let such things alone till their full value be proven.

I find it difficult to condense a very able letter written by a gentleman in the West, which sums up with great force almost all the objections that I have heard urged against saloon reform.

"How do you propose to overcome," says my correspondent, "the opposition of saloon-keepers? You suggest no means of limiting their activity as individuals and in union, and they would no doubt continue as powerful as ever and more hostile than ever. You mention no way in which the opposition of political ward heelers may be weakened; nor do you set forth strong reasons for hoping that the Prohibitionists will abandon their cardinal principle, because you make the sale of liquor subordinate to that of food. The success of your plan would pain them more deeply, as being a half measure, than would a great increase in the business of the saloon proper. The many good preachers will continue to rebuke those who taste liquor, and many doubtless would be ready to discipline church members who should frequent such places of resort as you suggest. In short, as your plan becomes more successful and more wide-spread the opposition from the three forces you mentioned would grow hotter." To this I answer that nothing can be done with the Prohibition Party. They are wrong in principle and therefore mistaken in practice. Many good preachers, no doubt, will continue to rebuke those who taste liquor; but as education grows, their number will decrease.

Again, my correspondent says: "Supposing your plan to be comprehensive enough, it must still fail of general application for want of people to carry it on. The retail liquor trade is so uninviting a business to most of those who wish well to temperance, that they can be relied upon to leave it alone. Even if a man is willing to devote himself to conducting a liquor establishment, he could not be successful without a remarkable combination of personal characteristics and outward circumstances. He must have an income more than sufficient to support himself and his

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family. He must be the sort of man who attracts people." Here again, perhaps owing to my want of clearness in statement, my correspondent has entirely misunderstood what has been proposed. The sort of saloons that I have suggested ought to pay well; and it should not be difficult therefore to secure respectable men, experienced in the retail liquor business, to conduct them; care, of course, being taken to see that the laws laid down for their management were scrupulously obeyed. Such men there are in plenty. To start and equip such establishments men would have to be found who were willing to take some risk for the sake of trying an experiment. But once let it be proven that there was money in it, I cannot think that it would be hard to secure investors; and, indeed, the history of temperance reform in Norway and Sweden abundantly supports this opinion.

Still, again, my correspondent objects: "The great purpose in keeping such saloons would be to draw people, more especially the lower grades of people, away from the old saloons into these better places. How is this to be done? Those more objectionable forms of entertainment which cannot be introduced into the reformed saloons are the very ones which attract the customers whom it is most important to reach, and you cannot suggest any compensating attraction for your houses, a food counter or anything else, which saloon-keepers cannot and will not obtain for theirs. They can afford to spend money, and they know how to do it effectively. If competition ever arose, the saloons would cut prices and offer attractions beyond anything which reformed houses could do; and would no doubt use the boycott as a means of strengthening their position. When it comes to a struggle for the patronage of the lower classes of workingmen, you could not hope to stand one day against the resources of the saloon-keepers." That objection is well stated; but it applies with greatly diminished force to large cities, of which it should be remembered I am specially speaking. No boycott would be effectual in a large city. Nor can it be doubted that great good would be achieved by forcing the saloons, through competition, to better their methods, even if only to the extent of opening up food counters, varying their class of drinks, and making similar changes. By so much would the public gain.

Indeed, I have received what seems a remarkable suggestion from a saloon-keeper, who assures me that he has done all in his

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power to have our licensing law so altered, that where the licensee keeps tables and food, reducing his bar-room and developing his restaurant, the price of his license should be reduced. This retail liquor dealer is altogether in favor of providing saloons, where the customers shall have every opportunity of sitting down at tables, and having their drinks brought to them there; where they shall have every facility of procuring hot food at all times, when the place is open. He is quite confident that such a business enterprise would pay well. And let me say here, that this is no solitary case. I have met many saloon-keepers who, beyond question, were anxious to improve in all ways within their power the business in which they are engaged. It is to such men we need to look for practical suggestion and aid, in shaping any measures of reform; and to ignore them all, to suppose that all of them are men of poor character and unworthy ambition, argues as much ignorance as it does lack of charity.

There are exaggerated ideas abroad as to the opposition that may be expected from the retail liquor dealers to any movement that has for its object the reform of their business. I do not think that they are any worse than those they serve—and among these are the great majority of our respectable working men and women, whose morals are quite up to the average—who, indeed, in my judgment are the most moral element in our city communities.

Temperance reformers as a rule know little of saloons or saloon-keepers, and draw pictures of them which are apt to be somewhat imaginative. The ordinary retailer detests seeing a drunken man on his premises. He thinks a man is a fool to get drunk, and a nuisance when he is drunk—because he is an injury to his business.

This view of the liquor dealer may seem rose colored. Let me quote from one whose name carries as much weight on such a question as the name of any man living—Charles Booth, author of *Life and Labor of the People in London.*

"A most horrible and true picture may be drawn of the trade in drink, of the wickedness and misery that goes with it. So horrible that one cannot wonder that some eyes are blinded to all else, and there is a cry of 'Away with this accursed abomination.' There is, however, much more to be said. Anyone who frequents public houses knows that actual drunkenness is very much the exception. At the worst houses in the worst neighborhoods many, or perhaps most, of those who stand at the bars, whether

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men or women, are stamped with the effects of drink, and, if orderly at the moment, are perhaps at other times mad or incapable under its influence; but at the hundreds of respectable public houses scattered plentifully all through the district this is not the case. It could not be. They live by supplying the wants of the bulk of the people, and it is not possible that they should be much worse than the people they serve. Go into any of these houses—the ordinary public house at the corner of any ordinary East End street—there, standing at the counter, or seated on the benches against wall or partition, will be perhaps half a dozen people, men and women, chatting together over their beer—more often beer than spirits; or you may see a few men come in, with no time to lose, briskly drink their glass and go. Behind the bar will be a decent, middle-aged woman, something above her customers in class, very neatly dressed, respecting herself and respected by them. The whole scene comfortable, quiet, and orderly. To these houses those who live near send their children with a jug as readily as they would send them to any other shop. I do not want to press this more cheerful point of view further than is necessary to relieve the darker shades of the picture. I would rather admit the evils and try to show how they may be lessened, and what the tendencies are that make for improvement. It is evident that publicans, like all the rest of us, are feeling the stress of competition. Walk through the streets, and everywhere it may be seen that the public houses are put to it to please their customers. Placards announcing change of management frequently meet the eye, while almost every house vigorously announces its reduced prices. 'So much the worse,' some will say. But no! It is a good thing that they should be considering how to make themselves more attractive. Undermined by the increasing temperance of the people, and subject to direct attack from the cocoa-rooms on the one side and the clubs on the other, the licensed victuallers begin to see that they cannot live by drink alone. Look more closely at the signs in their windows. There is hardly a window that does not show the necessity felt to cater for other wants besides drink. . . . In such a situation it would be a fatal mistake to decrease the number of the houses in the cause of temperance. To encourage the decent and respectable publican by making existence difficult to the disreputable is the better policy, but let us on no account interfere with a natural development, which, if I am right, is making it every day more difficult to make a livelihood by the simple sale of drink."

The objection that there can be no attraction offered in the reformed saloon, which would not be duplicated and improved on in the ordinary saloon, would be a final and unanswerable objection, if it were sought to abolish saloons and stamp out the drink traffic; but this, as I have said, I believe to be neither possible nor desirable in New York any more than it is in London. What I do think can be done is to raise the tone of the saloon by making it less of a bar and more of a restaurant; by throwing it open to the public and removing its blinds, and by improving the quality of its liquor.

One more suggestion has been made. It is that the coöpera-

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tive method should be introduced, and the lodgers in several adjoining tenements should support a private saloon, live more at home, spend less, and divide among themselves what are now the profits of the middleman. There is scarcely any department of their lives in which our poor would not be greatly benefited by coöperation; but, unfortunately, they are not sufficiently educated to understand its advantages or to practise them. And indeed, the constant change of habitation which tenement-house life involves would alone, I fear, be at present an insuperable objection to any application of this method to the saloon.

And now let me, if I may, a little more fully state some points of importance. The question before us is largely how to deal with the intemperance of the immigrant peoples. How shall we provide for the needs of those who have come to us from foreign lands, with habits formed in those lands, or for the needs of the children of those who are of foreign birth? There seems to be little doubt that the native American is fast becoming sober. Two generations ago he drank considerably; one generation ago he drank less; and now he is rarely a drunkard. Our difficulty lies in dealing with the various kinships that come from across the sea. If habits of intemperance are ingrained in them there, they find themselves with unusual opportunities of indulging them here.

There surely is one possible cure; and that is, education. This should begin with the children in the public schools; and to do this, we must know more than we know at present about the effects of alcohol. The most contradictory statements have been made on this subject, guaranteed by names of weight; and the ordinary man finds it almost impossible to come to a definite conclusion. On one side, he hears alcohol is poison, pure and simple; on the other, that it is a food. The physiologist takes him into his laboratory and proves to him that alcohol retards the process of digestion, and so is poison. The pathologist, equally certain of his results, proves that when alcohol is taken into the stomach it is so quickly absorbed that it passes out of that member and so is not present to retard digestion; but, on the other hand, helps to increase the secretion of digestive juices. Here, at first sight, seems flat contradiction, but the divergency of opinion is of course to be explained by the different points of view of the pathologist and physiologist.

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It ought not to be difficult to-day for doctors and scientific men to agree on simple statements which could find their place in textbooks, and so spread knowledge among the million; but this, as yet, has not been done. And even if it were done, the prejudice of the temperance folk is so strong and so persistently operative that it is very doubtful whether such textbooks could be placed in the schools. A noted temperance organization demanded of one city board of education and a State board that the children under those boards should be taught for two hours weekly the physiological effects of alcohol, while, as a matter of fact, the child could be taught all that is known of its physiological effects in half an hour. The granting of this demand would have simply transformed the teachers into temperance lecturers, and the schools into channels for the dissemination of theories on this subject, which would prove to be misleading, if not absolutely false.

It is very easy to make alcohol a sort of scapegoat on which to pile the sins of the people. The criminal himself, glad of an excuse, attributes his trouble to liquor. But he is scarcely a good judge in his own case. I learn from the best authority that, while the youthful wardens of our prisons generally state in their reports that alcohol is, in a very large proportion of the cases under their charge, a cause of crime, the wardens who have had longer experience attribute to alcoholism a smaller percentage of crime.

I know full well that in such brief space as a magazine article allows me it is impossible to avoid being misunderstood when one deals with such a question as this. It seems to a multitude of good people who judge hastily that nothing but harm can come from any movement or teaching which appears to make light of the awful blight of drunkenness. I must at present, I fear, rest under the censure of such. But what I plead for is a more radical dealing with the evil. As long as conditions of life provoke to drink men will destroy themselves with drinking. As long as they breathe foul air at night, in sleeping quarters all too narrow, they will wake up in the morning with a craving for liquor. As long as they are denied all rational amusement they will go in for "soak" and "debauch." You cannot better the condition of those who are being ruined by the present retail liquor business by attacking only that business which seems the immediate cause of

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their ruin. We must do more than this. We must, if we love our fellow men, go down to the root of the matter and seek to alter that.

The one necessary thing to our city workingman is a place where he can spend his afternoon and evening. He has no home, only part of a room at best; perhaps a bed to himself, and this is doubtful. The place where he sleeps is cold in the winter evenings and intolerably hot in the summer. He is actually driven to the saloon; there is no other place for him. To expect him to sit in his single room and look at his bare wall is ridiculous. He might almost as well be in Sing Sing. Nor will your average workingman rush to take advantage of your reading-room, coffee-house, etc., as soon as you throw open its doors to him. He has prejudices. He is afraid of being assailed by those who look down on him, or with whose opinions he does not agree, and he has a righteous objection to being patronized. This is exactly the condition of scores of thousands of unmarried men (I have not time at present to deal with the question as it applies to the married man, whose case is scarcely better) in our large cities. And these are they who are the main support of the present saloon. In the saloon he meets his friends and spends most of his leisure time. With the saloon-keeper he is on friendly terms. Improve his place of resort, and you do much to improve him. It is improving. The reforms most needed are those that will hasten its improvement.

The Gothenberg System came into existence in 1866. For the first sixty years of this century Scandinavia was noted for its drunkenness. In Norway and Sweden there was uncontrolled distillation of brandy, which was and is the popular drink. Every corn grower was practically his own distiller. In 1830 there were no fewer than 170,000 stills at work in Sweden. In 1850 they were reduced to 40,000, and in 1855 a very important law was passed in Sweden, which gave local option to the people. It allowed them to reduce the number of public houses to zero; or it allowed them to continue the existing system of private licenses; or it provided for the establishment of companies to take up those licenses. This legislation applied only to public houses where native brandy was sold. It did not touch beer, which is regarded as a temperance drink.

In 1866, the town of Gothenberg adopted the system now

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called by its name. It was that of a limited liability company, pledged to work for the benefit of the public, controlled by the public, and devoting all its surplus profits to the public welfare, after payment of a moderate interest of five per cent. upon the capital of the society. The Municipal Council fixes the number of licenses required to meet the convenience of the public, and grants a monopoly of these to a society formed for the purpose of undertaking the trade, generally for a term of five years at a time. The operations of the society are subject to the control, and its books open to the inspection, of the Council. The statutes, by-laws and regulations, as well as all the appointments in the society's service, must be approved by the Council. The committee of management of the society is formed of a body of representative men, of whom a certain proportion are elected by the shareholders, while the remainder are appointed by the Municipal Council, and may or may not be shareholders; or may or may not be Municipal Councillors. This system has now been applied to the municipalities in Norway so generally that there are only three small villages, numbering in all a little over 1,200 people, who have not adopted it.

There is one important distinction, however, in the working of the law in the two countries. The surplus over and above five per cent. paid to the shareholders goes, under the Gothenberg System, to the local municipal treasury; while under the Norwegian System, it is used in works of charity and public utility, such as parks, etc. There seems considerable danger attaching to any system which hands over large sums of money to a local municipal treasury; as local authorities have then as good reason as private persons for pushing the sale of liquor.

In 1876 there were twenty-two societies formed under this law in operation in Norway; and the total consumption of ardent spirits in that country was 12,300,000 litres. In 1889 there were fifty-one societies, and the total consumption had fallen to 5,600,000. A practical application of this system is now proposed for Massachusetts, the features of which are embodied in the following bill recently submitted to the legislature by Mr. C. F. Dole, and entitled "An Act as to the Norwegian System of Dispensing Intoxicating Liquors:"

SECTION 1. The voters of each town at its annual meeting, and of each ward in any city at its annual municipal election, shall have an opportunity

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to vote "yes" or "no" upon the question whether the Norwegian System, as hereinafter stated, of dispensing intoxicating liquors, shall be adopted in said town or ward, and if a majority of the voters shall vote in the affirmative, then the licensing power therein shall grant a license of the first five classes in section ten of chapter one hundred of the Public Statutes, without charge, to a corporation to be formed by ten or more citizens thereof, whose officers shall consist of president, secretary and a board of directors of not less than five nor more than ten persons, and otherwise formed according to general laws, and such corporation shall establish a place or places for dispensing said liquors not exceeding the number now provided by law for license, and no license of any of said five classes shall be granted to any other party in said town or ward of a city, except hotels and clubs. There shall be only one such corporation in said ward or town, and no such corporation shall be formed without the approval of a justice of the superior court, after suitable notice to the public; and if more than one such corporation is desired, said justice shall determine which one shall exist and take such license. No liquors shall be sold to any man intoxicated, or to a minor under sixteen years of age, or on credit, and no such minor shall be allowed on the premises, and no adulterated liquors shall be sold. Such corporation shall have such by-laws not inconsistent herewith as the stockholders may make; and no such corporation shall be allowed to take a license or dispense any of said liquors until its organization and by-laws shall have been approved by a justice of the superior court. The capital necessary to carry on a business of dispensing said liquors by the corporation shall be paid in by those who subscribe for the stock, and no stockholder shall receive more than a dividend of five per cent. per annum, payable semi-annually on his stock: and after all the expenses of the business and the dividend has been paid, the balance of net profit shall be distributed at a fixed time in each year for such charitable and industrial purposes in said ward or town as the stockholders and the board of directors, separately, may approve: *provided, however*, that no such distribution shall be made without the approval of one of said justices, and such justice shall determine how and to whom the same shall be given, and his decision shall be final.

SEC. 2. The provisions of law as to voting upon license questions shall apply to said question relating to the Norwegian system.

SEC. 3. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

The liquor question is far from settled—the lines along which we are to seek its solution are not even laid down as yet. On all hands men recognize its importance and recognize also the futility of those means that so far have been employed for grappling with it. For myself, I cannot feel any great enthusiasm for immediate legislation. Whether it take the shape suggested in Mr. C. F. Dole's Massachusetts Bill, or attempt a State monopoly, as under the lead of Governor Tillman the South Carolinians seem bent on doing, we can gain little permanent good by enacting laws so long as we know so little and are so divided in opinion. Laws that are the result of moral panic or that do not represent

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the mature convictions of the bulk of the people simply serve as an excuse for personal effort in the direction of reform, and soon fail of their purpose. For many a day to come we must depend chiefly on personal effort. Earnest men who will not readily be discouraged and who command universal respect, men of moderation and of means, are wanted. They can establish decent restaurant-saloons, where music is provided; decent places where people will be ashamed to get drunk; where all things make for moderation, not excess; where the laws could be obeyed absolutely, no blackmail paid to any one, and all business done on a cash basis.

These, when wisely placed, would pay a reasonable interest on money invested in them—and they would be a perpetual object-lesson of great value. They would draw the attention of the capitalist as a safe investment; and soon, when his prejudices were overcome, the sober and temperate portion of the working population would discover in them the very thing it needs so sorely—an innocent place of rest and recuperation, where families as well as individuals may escape from the narrowness of home.

W. S. RAINSFORD.

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THE FINANCIAL OUTLOOK.

BY THE HON. W. BOURKE COCKRAN, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM NEW YORK.

RECENT events have operated to concentrate the attention of the world upon the monetary system of the United States. The financial policy established by the act of 1890 is universally condemned, but public opinion is by no means unanimous as to the policy which should be substituted for it.

In the last Congress an attempt was made to abrogate that portion of the act of 1890 known as the Sherman Law, which provides for the annual purchase of 54,000,000 ounces of silver by the government, but it failed, because men who openly denounced the law voted against every attempt to modify its provisions. Many members who voted against the act providing for the suspension of silver purchases justified their course by the statement that they would never consent to the repeal of the Sherman Act "*unless some satisfactory substitute were adopted.*"

This disposition to make the repeal of the Sherman law conditional upon the adoption of some scheme of silver coinage throws a doubt over the future financial policy of the country. The recent utterances of the President and of the Secretary of the Treasury, however, appear to settle beyond question that the present Administration is determined to use all the means at its command to maintain a gold standard.

A discussion of the future financial policy of the United States therefore involves three questions: *First,* whether any further compromise between the advocates and opponents of free coinage of silver by this government be possible or advisable; *Second,* whether the discretionary powers vested in the Treasury Department by existing laws can be exercised so as to maintain a sound currency; and, *Third,* whether there be any prospect of an ultimate repeal of that part of the Sherman Act which provides for the purchase of large quantities of silver bullion.

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The question of free coinage of silver by the United States may be excluded from consideration as nobody deems the passage of such a law within the limits of possibility during the present administration.

I.

It must be apparent to every thoughtful observer that any further experiments in the direction of a limited silver coinage would be productive of nothing but confusion and disorder. The statement of those who declare that while they do not believe in the Sherman Law "they will vote against its repeal unless some satisfactory substitute be adopted" offers no suggestion of future legislation worthy of attention.

The policy which has involved the finances of the United States in a confusion without parallel in the history of prosperous nations is due to the folly of attempting to compromise an economic principle. Economic laws are not the product of legislation; they are the result of forces which no one country can affect, and which the combined legislation of all nations could not permanently control. An attempt to compromise an economic law is about as intelligent a proceeding as an attempt to compromise the state of the weather or the course of the seasons. If two men, joint owners of a field, disputed the proper season for planting grain, one insisting it should be planted in April, the other contending it should be planted in October, and they should compromise by planting it in January, does any sane man believe that a fruitful crop would crown the husbandry which had been the result of such a compromise? The men who scattered seed upon the ground at a period when the laws of nature necessarily made it unproductive would have exercised an undoubted individual right, but their course would have exposed them to the pity and the ridicule of sensible men. So, in treating subjects controlled by economic laws, contending members of a legislature may agree upon a compromise which will prove effective to close debate and postpone discussion, but the economic laws will be in no wise affected by their arrangement, and if the scheme which they adopt be out of harmony with those laws the result will be disastrous to commercial prosperity.

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The Bland Act of 1878 and the Sherman Law of 1890 were both compromises between the views entertained by advocates of free coinage and the opponents of it. Both have resulted disastrously to the country and both are to-day condemned by men of all shades of opinion upon the financial question. If government cannot control the course of economic laws, its only prudent course is to act in obedience to them so far as they may have been ascertained. There is no sensible middle course between the free coinage of silver and the total demonetization of silver. If silver be admitted to coinage at all it should be admitted freely and fully, without any restriction. A limited coinage of any metal forces the government to become a purchaser of it, and therefore reduces it to the status of a commodity. Whether admitted freely to the mint or totally excluded from it, a metal will always find its natural level. If it be made the subject of government speculation its commercial value is subject to arbitrary interference, with the inevitable result of depreciation.

It is quite true that the standard dollars coined under the Bland Act of 1878 circulated freely in this country at their par value, and Mr. Cleveland's memorable letter to Mr. Warner, written in 1885, is often cited to prove that the gloomy prophecies of those who were opposed to that law have never been fulfilled. Although these silver dollars never sank to a discount, Mr. Cleveland's letter was none the less a substantially sound statement of the financial confusion which would have inevitably arisen out of the operation of the Bland Act if it had continued in existence. His prognostication was inaccurate, only, in speaking of the danger as immediate, when in fact it was remote. The Bland silver dollars circulated in this country at their par value, because there was one perfectly solvent institution which was forced to accept them at that valuation. The law having made them receivable in payment of debts due to the Government, they could always be paid into the Treasury at their par value in gold. But the capacity of the Government to absorb these dollars was necessarily limited to the extent of its revenues. If the Bland Act had remained in force until the number of standard dollars coined had largely exceeded the total revenues of the Government, there would have been no place at which the surplus could be exchanged at par with the gold dollar. As they became redundant, the inability to export them freely would have become apparent, and

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they would inevitably have depreciated to the bullion value of the silver which they contained.

It has been suggested that a revival of the Bland Act might prove a satisfactory measure to those who admit the failure of the Sherman Law, yet hesitate to vote for its repeal. Of the two laws the Bland Act is in every way the more vicious. The Bland Act remained in operation some twelve years, and if it were now revived it is reasonable to assume that an equally long period would elapse before it could be again disturbed. By that time there would be over eight hundred million standard dollars in actual circulation, a greater amount than the Treasury could absorb, and since nobody would be bound to accept the surplus they would at once sink to a discount, and the currency of the country would be reduced to the condition foreseen by Mr. Cleveland in 1885.

In the operation of the Sherman Act the Government is subjected to a heavy loss. The bullion which it purchases is a steadily depreciating commodity, but the loss falls upon the Government which is responsible for the senseless legislation which produces it. If the dollar coined under the operation of the Bland Act sank to a discount it would mean a shrinkage in the value of the money in the pocket of the citizen. Where a vicious or unsound financial policy is pursued by a government, it is manifestly better that the loss accruing from it should fall upon the government which is responsible for it, rather than upon the citizen who is the victim of it. The Sherman Act is the most absurd financial measure ever adopted by a civilized nation, but its very absurdity furnishes a reason for believing that its repeal will soon be accomplished.

II.

SINCE it is certain that no measure providing for the free coinage of silver can become a law during the next four years, and as any further attempt to control economic laws by compromise legislation would be indefensible, the question arises how far can the government maintain a sound currency with the powers intrusted to it by the existing statute.

Under the Sherman Act the government is compelled to purchase 54,000,000 ounces of silver every year at the market value of the metal. In payment of this silver the Government issues notes

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payable "*in coin*," which manifestly means in gold or silver coin. The statute, however, requires the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain the parity between gold and silver. In order to obey this last provision of the law it is plain that in redeeming these notes the Secretary is bound either to redeem them in gold or in an amount of silver equivalent to their face value in gold.

Under both the Republican and Democratic administrations the Treasury Department has placed this interpretation upon the law. Under this interpretation, the silver purchased by the Government cannot be used in the redemption of the coin notes. It remains idle in the vaults of the Treasury, precisely as if it were iron, or hay, or barley, or tobacco.

In the course of the debate upon the free coinage bill in March, 1892, Mr. Bland declared that the notes issued under the Sherman law were practically gold notes, and in this view every reasonable man must concur. These notes are mere evidences of debt due by the Government. Evidences of debt issued by a government are subject to the same economic laws as evidences of debt issued by individuals or corporations. The value of a promise to pay depends upon the ability and the willingness of the promiser to redeem his obligation.

While the Sherman law makes it compulsory upon the Government to continue issuing paper for the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver every month, it does not empower the Treasury to obtain any gold wherewith to redeem them. Every increase in the number of the notes involves an obligation to acquire a larger supply of gold. As these notes are forced into circulation they displace and expel some other form of currency, and as gold is the only money of international value it is steadily withdrawn from the Treasury for export. The holders of the notes, seeing their volume increase while the amount of gold available for their redemption decreases, become doubtful of their value and they hasten to take advantage of the law which allows them to be used in discharge of debts due to the Government. The inevitable result follows. The revenues of the Government are substantially paid in its own paper obligations, and thus the policy which makes it imperative upon the Government to obtain an extraordinary supply of gold becomes the means of preventing it from obtaining even the supply which under ordinary conditions would be yielded by its revenues.

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A premium on gold, that is to say, a willingness on the part of those who hold Government paper to exchange it for less than its face value in gold will be the inevitable result of a widespread distrust of the Government's capacity to redeem its obligations. As this, however, would be a great hardship upon the innocent holders of Government paper, and as it would entail the most serious consequences, the Treasury is morally bound to maintain the value of its notes by all the means at its command.

A government can only obtain gold by collecting it as part of its revenues or by borrowing it. The reports of the Treasury show that under existing financial conditions it is idle to hope that its dwindling stock of gold can be replenished by the proceeds of taxation. If the present drain on its resources be continued the Government will therefore be forced to pledge its credit in order to obtain the gold necessary to redeem its obligations.

The withdrawal of gold has undoubtedly been stimulated by the fear that this country was rapidly drifting to a silver basis. If the commercial world become convinced that the Government intends to maintain a gold standard at whatever cost, and that if its revenues do not yield sufficient gold to meet its obligations it will pledge its credit to secure an adequate supply, confidence in the soundness of its paper would be largely restored, and the outflow of gold would be sensibly checked.

There is little doubt that the credit of the Government is sufficiently high to warrant the belief that it can obtain all the gold it may need at the rate of from two and one-half to three per cent. The credit of the Government being undoubted the moment its willingness to pledge it became established, confidence in its notes would be restored. Gold which is now hoarded would be freely restored to circulation, because each coin note would become practically a gold certificate of deposit issued by the Government and would be just as valuable as the coin itself.

It is true that the Sherman Law does not authorize the Government to borrow gold for the redemption of notes issued under its provisions. The resumption act, however, empowers the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow whatever gold may be necessary to redeem all outstanding United States notes commonly called greenbacks. There are now about three hundred and forty-six millions of these notes in circulation, and under the law they cannot be cancelled on redemption but must be reissued.

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Since the greenbacks must be kept in circulation the power to borrow gold for their redemption is necessarily continuous.

While, therefore, gold could not be borrowed for the direct purpose of redeeming the coin notes issued under the Act of 1890, yet these notes could be exchanged at the Treasury for United States notes—greenbacks—and these latter could in turn be exchanged for gold coins. This would be an indirect but effective method of maintaining gold payments on the paper issued against the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of the Sherman Law. It would, moreover, be a practical demonetization of silver and a substantial adoption of the gold standard. While the operation of the Sherman law would still impose a severe strain upon the country, its financial system would nevertheless remain upon a sound basis. The continued purchase of silver would still be a wasteful, extravagant, and ridiculous performance, but it would in no way affect the currency of the country, except in so far as it would increase the number of government obligations forced into the circulation.

III.

The Sherman law has been the parent of many evils, and many have been attributed to it for which it was not responsible. When we consider the forces that have hitherto sustained it, there is reason to hope for its repeal. The advocates of free coinage of silver are themselves dissatisfied with it; yet they have maintained it on the statute book, because they foresaw that under its operation a time would come when the public revenues would be substantially paid in government paper, and they hoped that the Treasury, deprived of any supply of gold, would be forced to coin the silver bullion in its vaults and use it in redemption of its obligations. But the determination of the Administration to maintain the gold standard at all hazards has defeated this expectation. The Government can obtain on its credit the gold which its income fails to supply. With the country upon a gold basis, the Sherman law will ultimately have no more active opponent than the producer of silver.

The act itself is a distinct violation of all economic laws and like all similar acts its results have been most disastrous to those whose interests it was expected to subserve.

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If men be governed by the ordinary rules of human prudence it is safe to assume that it will soon be repealed by the consent of those who now support it. It was passed for the purpose of maintaining the price of silver. Its effect has been to depreciate it. In 1873 silver was demonetized by Germany and the United States and the coinage of silver was suspended in France; yet in the two years between 1873 and 1875 the fall in the price of silver was only about five and one-fifth cents an ounce. In 1890 the Sherman law was passed and during the two years from 1890 to 1892 the price of silver fell about seventeen cents an ounce. From 1874 to 1875 silver declined about three and one-fifth cents an ounce; from 1891 to 1892 it declined about eleven cents an ounce. Its downward course since the adoption of the Sherman law has been vastly more rapid than at any period since 1873. The production of silver throughout the world in 1892 was about equal to its production in 1891, and this rapid shrinkage in value cannot, therefore, be ascribed to increased production. Its depreciation has been caused by the policy of the Government, and it has proceeded according to perfectly well-settled economic laws.

To many the economic significance of the word purchaser is the same as that of the word consumer; and in the practical operations of life the purchaser is either a consumer or the agent of a consumer. But the Government is an exception to this rule. While it is a purchaser of silver, in no sense is it a consumer of silver. On the contrary, it is an efficient agency to prevent consumption. Every ounce of silver stored in the Treasury increases the visible supply of the commodity and by increasing the visible supply necessarily depreciates the price. As the amount in the Treasury increases the commercial world becomes convinced that sooner or later the Government must throw it on the market. It is fair to assume that great as the depreciation has been this year, with each addition to the stock in the Government vaults the price will diminish with increased rapidity. In the light of this experience, it is difficult to see what benefit the mine owner has reaped from this legislation, which was conceived in especial benevolence for him. The provision which forces the Government to purchase his product is of no substantial benefit to him. If the Sherman law never had been passed he could have deposited his metal in any warehouse in any city, and upon the

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warehouse certificate he could have borrowed ninety per cent. of its face value in any bank in the world. But ninety per cent. of the value of silver in 1889 was equal to more money than one hundred per cent. of its value to-day. The money which he could have borrowed in the open market would have been available for use through the exchanges in any quarter of the globe. Moreover, his product would have been open to consumption. He could have freely disposed of it under general commercial usages, and every ounce consumed would have helped to stimulate or maintain the market price of the metal. Scattered in various parts of the world the supply would not have been, as it is now, concentrated in one spot, a portentous cloud hanging over the market, disturbing confidence and depreciating values. It is amazing that the mine owner has not long since opened his eyes to this aspect of the question. Sooner or later he will realize that his own interests are being jeopardized by the operation of this act, and he will join in a movement to repeal it. In order to convince him of its pernicious effects it may be necessary that his product should sink from eighty-three cents to seventy-five, or sixty or fifty cents an ounce. If the Sherman law continue in operation it is certain that the value of silver will reach a point low enough to satisfy him that he is the principal sufferer from its operation. When it shall have been finally wiped from the statute book the Government will be the possessor of a vast amount of bullion against which it will have issued notes, whose face value will in all probability far exceed the value of the bullion. But this loss will be the penalty which the Government must pay for the experiment in which it has indulged.

It must not be inferred from what has been written that those who believe that this government should go immediately to a gold basis are opposed to bimetallism. The writer of this article believes that the business of the world will never be on a stable basis until the free coinage of silver shall have been restored throughout the world. The difference between those who support free coinage by the United States at the present time and those who oppose it is simply a difference of opinion as to the methods by which bimetallism may be reached. Mr. Bland professes to believe that free coinage of silver by the United States would immediately restore silver to a parity with gold, yet the measure which he introduced in the House was not a free-

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coinage measure, but a measure for the issuance of Treasury notes in return for silver bullion, which notes should be redeemable in silver or gold at the option of the Secretary of the Treasury. If Mr. Bland's theory that the coinage of silver by the United States would restore the two metals to a parity were well founded nobody would object to his measure. But since the depreciation of silver did not result from its demonetization by any one country, but from a general movement to a gold standard throughout the world, it is very unlikely that its restoration to coinage by one nation would be sufficient to counteract the effect of its demonetization by several nations.

The universal adoption of a gold standard will present a very serious problem to the commercial world.

Mr. Gladstone, in a recent speech, spoke of existing monetary conditions as being satisfactory to England, and it is undoubtedly true that existing conditions are highly favorable to her. While silver is maintained in the coinage of several countries it is part of the metallic money of the world. But if this country and other countries go to a gold basis Great Britain will be forced to face, not the question of conserving existing conditions, but the question how to meet new conditions. The full tender metallic money of the world consists in round numbers of about 7,000,000,000 of dollars, of which very nearly one-half is silver. If silver be universally demonetized the metallic money of the world will be reduced one-half, and the problem which would then confront all commercial countries would be the possibility of maintaining the business of the world with one-half the existing stock of metallic money. If actual experiment proved that 3,632,605,000 gold dollars formed a sufficient money basis on which to transact the whole business of international exchange, the demonetization of silver would undoubtedly be a salutary measure. If, on the other hand, experience proved that this tremendous reduction in the stock of metallic money tended to unsettle credit and paralyze enterprise, silver would be recalled into coinage by the concurrent demand of the people of the whole world.

Any country which enjoys the benefit of a single monetary standard will be very unlikely to experiment with a double standard, merely to simplify the domestic politics of some other country. England will maintain the gold standard so long as the

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total volume of metallic money throughout the world is helped out by the silver circulation of countries that maintain the double standard or the single silver standard. What she may do when confronted with such a reduction in the volume of metallic money in the world as would be caused by a general demonetization of silver no man can say. But it is certain that if the United States join this general movement towards a gold standard she will occupy the strongest position of any nation in the world. She is not an exporter of luxuries, but of necessaries. The things which she has to sell are the things which are essential to the support of life. Whatever may be the prevailing currency of the world, a large proportion of it must necessarily flow to her shores.

The dislocation of the par between silver and gold was in the judgment of many a reckless and ill-advised experiment. For centuries these metals had remained at a parity. The legislation which caused the divergence in their values may have been shortsighted and pernicious. But while it may be deplored it cannot be remedied by the isolated action of a single country. "The battle of the standards" which Mr. Bland foresees cannot be decided by legislation. Silver will be remonetized if the necessities of trade demand its remonetization. When all the commercial nations are brought face to face with the consequences of its universal demonetization the imperious necessities of commerce will bring about a final solution of the coinage question.

W. Bourke Cockran.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

CHRIST AS AN ORATOR.

THIS most important subject has been certainly overlooked. There is no treatise professing to deal with the expressional gifts of the greatest extempore orator the world has beheld. For two thousand years the human race has been led by the teachings of a man who, so far as can be discerned, never committed a thought to writing. There is only one historical mention of even His ability to write, and that was in the case of the woman taken in adultery; when He stooped down and wrote on the ground. What He wrote we know not, it may have been signs or figures, not words; it may have been merely meaningless lines to cover His embarrassment or the nature of His reflections. His recorded sayings were not written by Himself, but by His followers. The world owes its enlightenment, its release from crude faith and superstitious practices to the discourses of Jesus Christ. Why, then, has nothing been written upon the subject of His oratory? Because men have failed to see that Christ must employ the language of public discourse. The prophets spoke of Him in language which indicates His oratoric mission. "The Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon Him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of council and might, and the spirit of knowledge; and he shall smite the earth with the rod of His *mouth* and with the breath of His *lips* shall He slay the wicked." These are the highest endowments for a public speaker. In what terms could this mission be more clearly indicated. He would regenerate the world and bring all men under His sway, not by the sword but by His words. Christ recognized His mission as that of a great sacred orator, for He declared: "God has anointed Me to preach the gospel to the poor." The men of His day regarded Him as a great speaker. On many occasions, while speaking, the people loudly praised His discourse in terms that reflect His oratorical power, for they were carried away by His words. So attractive and commanding were the tones of His voice that many declared that He spoke as one having authority and not as the scribes. The band of officers which the Sanhedrim sent to entrap Jesus returned without accomplishing the mission, and gave as a reason why they did not apprehend Him, not that He worked miracles, but that His speech was so persuasive that they could do nothing but listen, "for never man spake like this man."

It is of no little importance that this subject receive attention.

The correct interpretation of the sayings of Jesus depends upon how truly we understand His oratorical expressions. His methods of speech throw much light upon difficult sayings. Much of the obscurity that envelops the words of Jesus would vanish if we could supply the look, gesture or tone of voice that He used. It is characteristic of extempore speech to be

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elliptical or to abound in figures of rhetoric and exaggerated expressions; and these, though readily understood at the time of utterance, have to be carefully weighed and freed from over-statement before the reader can glean the correct meaning.

Many of the divisions of Christendom have been made by interpreting the oratorical language of Christ literally, and the first necessary step towards uniting all bodies of Christians is to interpret the truth of Christ in the light of reason, as in studying the expressions of all great speakers. Some say it was unwise for Christ to use oratorical expressions, but He only obeyed the laws of His nature. It is natural for men of high feeling and enthusiasm to speak strongly. Oratorical language, because highly passionate, is more clear than the trite and commonplace expressions, and renders truth more solemn, elevated, and impressive. A study of Christ as an orator has a most important bearing upon exegesis. The bungling attempts of many commentators to explain certain apparently obscure passages, and their wrong interpretation of others, is due mainly to their failure to study the oratoric method of Christ.

Christ said upon one occasion: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven." It is really amusing to wade through the ingenious efforts to explain this expression literally. Column on column has been written upon it by learned divines. All kinds of suppositions have been made about low gates and small doors at the entrance to Jerusalem, through which camels entered with difficulty. It is simply an oratorical expression for the performance of some very difficult task, like the old proverb "You might as well look for a needle in a haystack." This is only one of many passages in Christ's sermons which are puzzles, for a like reason. If Christ did not speak in the strong language of the orator, then many of his commandments are against human love. We are taught to hate father and mother, to pluck out our eyes and cut off our hands and feet if they offend us. Much of the mortification and self-inflicted torture of the monks of old, as well as many cruel acts, were inspired by a literal interpretation of rhetorical expressions.

The teachings of Jesus as given by the Evangelists are full of contradictions if interpreted literally. The parables of Lazarus and the Prodigal Son are antagonistic and irreconcilable unless we look upon them as vivid oratorical pictures of two sides of God's nature. Now Christ speaks of God's love in the strongest language; then He represents God in the character of a punisher who will plunge his children into endless torment.

Even the ordinary utterances of Christ present contradictions, if we lose sight of his oratorical method. He told His disciples that His mission was one of peace. Then he declared that He had not come to bring peace but war, to turn the son against the father, the mother-in-law against the daughter-in-law. The endeavor to interpret the sayings of Christ literally has led to much diversity of opinion in regard to what He taught in every department of social, moral and political life. It has led to the establishment of false social systems. The old Puritan took the strong phrases of Christ in their extreme literal sense. Many modern socialistic teachings are founded upon narrow literal interpretations of the antithetical and figurative language of Christ.

In the space allotted to us we can but give a superficial glance at some of the leading oratorical elements of Christ's discourses. He was an orator in every sense of the word. There is a closer connection between the form and

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spirit of His discourses than in the case of any other orator. He chose the most striking ways of presenting truth. Figures of speech, illustrations and parables are as thick in his sermons as stars in the milky way. The general manner of his address was direct or conversational. He always had His audience in mind and held the attention by His interrogative style. "Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings!" "What went ye out into the wilderness to see?" At times He commanded His audience. "Be not afraid of them that kill the body. Let your loins be girded about and your light burning." At other times He warns, rebukes, reproves, reproaches, prohibits. "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees; ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky and the earth." "Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee." This form of direct address often becomes sympathetic, as if He held His audience in His mind and knew their frailties. "Come unto Me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden and I will give you rest." He was impressed deeply with the great truth that things in heaven are known by their likeness to things on the earth; hence He often speaks in the language of oratoric correspondence. His most remarkable figure of this nature is His comparison of Himself to a vine. Contrast and antithesis abound: "If a son shall ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone? Or if he ask a fish will he give him a serpent? Or if he ask an egg will he give him a scorpion?" So truly oratorical was the style of Jesus that He touched every chord of the human heart. A man of keen sensibilities, sympathetic by nature, and living amid scenes of distress, sorrow and poverty, His heart was easily moved, and therefore His pathetic eloquence was deep, sincere and unsurpassed. Take, for example, His mournful dirge over Jerusalem. His story of the Prodigal's return has no equal for tender pathos in the records of oratory. And yet while the tender and loving prevails in His discourse, no orator has ever uttered such fierce denunciations and bitter sarcasms. "Beware of the Scribes, which desire to walk in long robes, and love greetings in the market places and the highest seats in the synagogues and the chief rooms at the feasts, which devour widows' houses and for a show make long prayers; the same shall receive greater damnation."

Briefly stated, the style of Christ is so oratorical that His sermons abound in examples of almost every figure of speech and every kind of eloquence, from the simple to the passionate. There is even found examples of wit and humor. His wit often shone brightly in His replies to the arguments of His opponents. His audience must have smiled with approval when they saw the sharp thrust or sarcastic turn by which His opponents were defeated. How keen His wit in His famous reply to the Pharisees when they said that He cast out devils by the power of Beelzebub: "If I by the power of Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out?"

We have shown clearly that the word language of Christ was beyond all question oratorical. It can also be shown that He enforced His truths by those other agents of oratory, voice and gesture. We may be well assured that Christ had a beautiful and graceful body. There are no mentions of any physical defects. The leaders of the Jews who were opposed to Christ's teachings would have seized upon such defects if they existed to show that he was not the Messiah. The life that Christ led, preaching in the open air and even resting at night in the mountains of His native country, bespeaks a strong constitution. But we are not left in doubt in regard to the excel-

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lence of His voice or the dramatic force of his gestures. We learn that He held the attention of multitudes in the open air, speaking from the hillside or from a boat anchored in the lake. It is not an easy matter to address several thousand people in the open air, and his audience seldom numbered less than five thousand people, and sometimes many more. That His voice was skilfully modulated appears from many expressions (such as "speaking with a loud voice") in the sacred writers.

They had even observed the changes which the passions made upon His voice, for they declare that He spoke at times with anger. The very words signifying to preach or speak are interchanged at times for words that mean loud or animated or round full utterance. There is strong evidence that His voice was very flexible and could express every shade of emotion. The language he uses, from sarcasm to pathos, denotes an oratoric nature, such that unless the tones of voice corresponded to the passions His audience would have regarded him as insincere. A most wonderful quality of Christ's voice was its power to convey a healing magnetism. The tones of His voice awakened new life in the penitent, in the dead and dying. The leper arose, cleansed; the blind received his sight; the deaf heard and the dumb spake at the sound of His voice. As a weapon of oratory Christ made good use of gesture. He often pointed to the object while speaking: "Behold those buildings;" or with a circular motion of His hand: "Behold my mother and brethren." Sometimes His stories or parables were acted illustrations, little gesture dramas, as in the washing of the disciples' feet. His countenance had a most marvellous variety of expression. By a look or motion of His eye He made His enemies quail. He could preach an impressive sermon by an encircling glance of the eye. His look made Peter go forth from the Council Chamber a broken penitent. Sometimes, even when He said nothing, He revealed His soul by His countenance.

We have tried to present briefly to the reader a great and new subject of extreme importance. We have thrown out a few reflections in regard to a much neglected side of Christ's nature, the expressional side. In our opinion no satisfactory or harmonious interpretation of the words of Christ can be obtained unless more careful study is given to the oratorical characteristics of His style.

We regret that space compels us to deal so concisely with such an important and many-sided subject.

T. ALEXANDER HYDE.

A FARMER'S VIEW OF FREE COINAGE.

IT IS a singular fact that while the farmers are almost a unit in their demand for free coinage their city cousins are equally desirous to maintain the single standard. We find the city arrayed against the country on this great financial question. Surely, while the cities are so dependent upon the prosperity of the country, the two ought not to be divided as to the correct solution of the problem.

With the single standard, as we have it now, and inadequate supply of the circulating medium, a dollar becomes daily dearer and the products of industry become cheaper and cheaper. We hear much about scaling down debts, but who hears anything about scaling up debts? Yet this is what is

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done by maintaining constancy in the supply of money, while the population and business of the country are rapidly increasing, and requiring more money to facilitate exchanges. The volume of business in the United States is growing faster than anywhere else in the world, because of the larger population and of the rapid development of the resources of the country.

Another cause of this rapid increase is to be found in the greater division of labor. Fewer opportunities are offered for barter, while the growth of cities has made it necessary to drop the small credit system. All these causes point to the necessity for a larger circulation. The present yield of gold will not keep pace with the demands of business. Two ways of meeting this difficulty are suggested: Free coinage of silver and the issuing of greenbacks. Many who have studied the subject take the stand that silver is the most available, and the least dangerous means of reinforcing the currency.

Even the most radical monometallist must see that the money we have now is not more than present business activity requires; but population is increasing at the rate of 2½ per cent. a year, business at the rate of 8 per cent. a year, and the circulating medium is remaining comparatively constant. Decreasing the currency raises the value of a dollar, and the debtor class must suffer to benefit the creditor. If you destroy one-third of the money, debts will jump to 150 per cent.—50 per cent. more than justice. The same result is reached if the amount of money is kept constant, while the business of the country is rapidly growing. This is the test: If the prices fall the currency is insufficient.

Agriculture is the basis upon which the whole superstructure of our national welfare must rest. When there is a widespread failure in crops, we see universal hard times. All classes feel the depression in business. First of all it comes to the farmer, he being the man who produces most of the raw material; who wins from nature her treasures by hardest toil, and who in exchange for the products of his industry takes manufactured articles, machinery and merchandise. He is the greatest sufferer.

This is a question of the greatest interest to farmers, and other industrial borrowers.

The cry for an honest dollar is but a subterfuge to hide the dishonesty of the present dollar, and the contempt for the white metal is but a pretence to conceal the real motive for this great attachment to the gold standard.

If we are content with the single standard, the volume of currency and, therefore, the amount available *per capita*, is very small. With this state of affairs, the money powers can withdraw at will a sufficient amount of cash from the circulation to bring about a condition of such pressure that money cannot be secured on government bonds, as was actually the case in Chicago in the winter of 1890.

It has been said that the amount of money can make no difference in the prosperity of the country. If the supply is abundant prices will be high; if the supply is small prices will be low, and the same work will be done by a less quantity in circulation. A relation does certainly exist between the supply of money and its value; but it is a mistake to consider that this conclusion must follow.

Nothing causes greater distress than a decrease in the amount of money. A small increase, however, does not have the opposite effect, since money tends to grow in value.

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At the present time any person may take gold to the mint and receive its full weight in gold coin. We are only asking that the same privilege be extended to the holders of silver. The law now in force is an unjust discrimination against silver in favor of gold, and it is this alone which has brought about the present disparity of their values. Silver at one time under free coinage was at a premium above gold. It is not that silver has lost, but that gold has gained in the last decade. This has been brought about partly by the larger output of silver, partly by the relative decrease in the gold produced, but most of all by the demonetization of silver. It is claimed that free coinage would bring inflation. All the silver in the world amounts to about $3,700,000,000. If it were all dumped down here at once it would only make about $58 *per capita*. The same authority claims that it would bring contraction. As to that, for eighty years silver and gold were coined free, and there was no more disturbance in the markets about one metal than the other.

Experience has shown that the price of American farm products at home is governed by the amount of legal-tender money in actual circulation. To satisfy ourselves of this fact we have only to examine the prices of farm products during a period of twenty years, beginning with the year 1872.

As to whether I am sound or not on this question, look at the action of our United States Senate—twice repeated in passing a free-coinage bill. The Senate is presumed to possess the best brain tissue of our government, although not always in accord with classic theories.

NEWTON L. BUNNELL.

THE ART OF LIVING TWO HUNDRED YEARS.

VERY few people, it is safe to say, desire old age. Men and women harassed by trouble, or overpowered by sorrow, surrounded by disgrace or tortured by pain may long for death, but not for a hundred or two hundred years of human life. Old age is of two kinds. One, the calm passing of many years; the other, brought about by excesses either mental or physical. The latter is not within the province of this brief essay. Without good health and faculties, trained by sobriety and temperance in all things, both of mind and body, long life would be an intolerable tedium. To die would indeed be great gain in such a case. The possibility of living two hundred years in average good health seems to many a wild sort of scientific dream. So did crossing the Atlantic by steamships; so did conveying intelligence by electricity; so did all the many startling inventions of these latter days. Every week we read of people who have lived to be a hundred or a hundred and ten years old. Let us not be surprised at anything.

We cannot defy death. But we may, by searching, find certain secrets of nature and apply them to the renewal of the organs whose decay is constantly going on in the body. Anatomical experiment and investigation show that the chief characteristics of old age are deposits of earthy matter of a gelatinous and fibrinous character in the human system. Carbonate and phosphate of lime, mixed with other salts of a calcareous nature, have been found to furnish the greater part of these earthy deposits. As observation shows, man begins in a gelatinous condition; he ends in an osseous or bony one—soft in infancy, hard in old age. By gradual change in the long space of years, the ossification comes on; but after middle life is passed, a more marked development of the ossific character takes place. Of course

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these earthy deposits, which affect all the physical organs, naturally interfere with their functions. Partial ossification of the heart produces the imperfect circulation of the blood, which affects the aged. When the arteries are clogged with calcareous matter there is interference with the circulation upon which nutrition depends. Without nutrition there is no repair of the body. Hence in his work "The Physiology of Common Life," G. H. Lewes states that "If the repair were always identical with the waste, life would only then be terminated by accident, *never by old age*." Both Bichat and Baillie considered that the greater number of people past sixty suffer more or less from arterial ossification, which brings about obstructions in the proper and healthy circulation of the blood.

None of these things interferes with nutrition and circulation in early years. The reparation of the physical system, as every one ought to know, depends on this fine balance. In fact, the whole change is merely a slow, steady accumulation of calcareous deposits in the system. The physical organs cannot preserve the balance between waste and nutrition. This is what we call old age. Nutrition in the earlier years of life is perfectly performed. Repairs are at once promptly attended to by the young blood. To repair the waste of the body, so that the exquisite equipoise called perfect health may be maintained, and the decay and blockage which advances with age may be kept at bay, is to prolong our years. If this secret be known, why not hundreds of years of life? Keep the means of repair of the system always in good working order, and you live, according to nature, in the highest, finest sense. Then, what are the means of checking these osseous and cartilaginous enemies of life?

The oxygen of the atmosphere is a most destructive element in many respects. Researches of a recent scientific character have shown that the origin of one of the sources of old age, namely, fibrinous and gelatinous matter, can be traced to the destructive action of atmospheric oxygen. Now, the relative proportions of oxygen and nitrogen in the air we constantly breathe are 22 of the former to 78 of the latter. Oxygen is the more active, aggressive element of the two, though of much smaller bulk. For every other element except fluorine, oxygen has an affinity, thus forming oxides. In the chemical changes constantly taking place in our bodies, oxygen plays the most important part by all odds. By oxidation, which is a constant waste or rust of life, the physical system is hourly destroyed, and then again built up by the reparation of the food we live upon. Albumen and fibrine exist in the blood, and are resolved into their component elements, carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, oxygen, sulphur, and phosphorus. By oxidation, the albumen is converted into fibrine, which nourishes the organs of our bodies. But in repairing their waste an excess of this substance accumulates in the blood vessels, causing their induration, and thus gradually lessening their calibre. Gelatine is an oxide of fibrine, as fibrine is an oxide of albumen. Oxidation causes these substances in part to be decomposed, and afterwards eliminated through the kidneys. A constant struggle is daily going on in our bodies when in the most perfect health between accumulation and elimination. And these accumulations, becoming greater in old age than the power of elimination, produce the effects we term feeling one's age.

In order to extend and prolong life, how shall they be counteracted? Let us see. Seventy per cent. of the human body is water—nearly three-fourths. Not a single tissue is there in which water is not found as an ingredient. Certain salts are held in solution by this water, portions of

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which—notwithstanding the large quantity eliminated by the secretions—become more or less deposits in the body. When these become excessive and resist expulsion, they then cause the stiffness and dryness of old age. Entire blockage of the functions of the body is then a mere matter of time, and the refuse matter deposited by the blood, in its constant passage through the system, stops the delicate and exquisite machinery which we call life. This is death. It has been proved by analysis that human blood contains compounds of lime, magnesia, and iron. In the blood itself are thus contained the earth salts. In early life they are thrown off. Age has not power to do it.

Hence, as blood is produced by assimilation of the food we eat, to this food we must look for the earthy accumulations which in time block up the system and bring on old age. It is thus seen that in the necessary elements of nutrition lurk the enemies of life, for food contains salts of a calcareous character. Does it then follow that man, by careful selection of his daily food, may prolong his life? In a measure, yes. Bathing, pure air to live and sleep in, exercise and other means of preserving health, must be attended to, of course; but what we put into our mouths to make our blood is the important matter either in retaining health or prolonging life. Almost everything we eat contains more or less of these elements for destroying life by means of calcareous salts deposited by the all-nourishing blood. Careful selection, however, may enable us to avoid the worst of them.

Paradoxical as it may sound, certain foods which we put into our mouths to preserve our lives help at the same time to hurry us to the inevitable gate of the cemetery. Earth salts abound in the cereals, and bread itself, though seemingly the most innocent of edibles, greatly assists in the deposition of calcareous matter in our bodies. Nitrogenous food abounds in this element. Hence a diet made up of fruit principally is best for people advancing in years, for the reason that being deficient in nitrogen the ossific deposits so much to be dreaded are more likely to be suspended. Moderate eaters have in all cases a much better chance of long life than those addicted to excesses of the table. Blockages of the functions of the stomach are more usual to those who eat more than the stomach can utilize than to light eaters.

Mr. De Lacy Evans, who made many careful researches in these regions of science, comes to the conclusion that fruits, fish and poultry, and young mutton and veal contain less of the earthy salts than other articles of food, and are therefore best for people entering the vale of years. Beef and old mutton usually are overcharged with salts and should be avoided. If one desires to prolong life, therefore, it seems that moderate eating and a diet containing a minimum amount of earthy particles is most suitable to retard old age by preserving the system from functional blockages. Excessive action of atmospheric oxygen must be counteracted. Ossific matter deposited in the body must be dissolved as far as practicable. To produce this desired effect distilled water and diluted phosphoric acid are perhaps the most efficacious and the least harmless. Their combined chemical action retards old age.

The powerful solvent properties of distilled water are well known. As carbonate of lime exists in nearly all drinking water, the careful distillation eliminates this harmful element. As a beverage, distilled water is rapidly absorbed into the blood; it keeps soluble those salts already in the blood and facilitates their excretion, thus preventing their undue deposit. The

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daily use of distilled water is, after middle life, one of the most important means of preventing secretions and the derangement of health. As to diluted phosphoric acid, it is one of the most powerful influences known to science for shielding the human system from the inconveniences of old age. Daily use of it mixed with distilled water helps to retard the approach of senility. By its affinity for oxygen the fibrinous and gelatinous deposits previously alluded to are checked, and their expulsion from the system hastened. Waste of the tissues is believed to be preventable also by the use of hypophosphites.

Hence, to sum up: The most rational modes of keeping physical decay or deterioration at bay, and thus retarding the approach of old age, are avoiding all foods rich in the earth salts, using much fruit, especially juicy, uncooked apples, and by taking *daily* two or three tumblerfuls of distilled water with about ten or fifteen drops of diluted phosphoric acid in each glassful.

As some objector may say, "I would not take all this minute and daily trouble to live 200 years—better a short life and a merry one." I will only answer, Take your choice.

WILLIAM KINNEAR.

INEBRIETY FROM A MEDICAL STANDPOINT.

PROMINENT among the grave social problems of to-day is the growth of the disease, Inebriety. Public interest in the subject has been shown for years by the many Temperance Reform organizations, and more recently by the formation of a political party whose primary idea is the suppression of intemperance by legislative enactment. It must be admitted that thus far these movements have been more or less failures. The reason for these failures is obvious. The inebriate has been regarded as an example of moral depravity, and the efforts to reform him have been in the line of appeals to his better nature. These waves of public sentiment served to produce an emotional crisis among inebriates. Names on pledge lists swelled to magnificent proportions. Hope waxed high, only to wane when it was found that the majority of these penitents had fallen into a worse condition than ever. This is the natural result of any method which appeals only to the emotional nature of the man, and fails to relieve his physical sufferings.

During the past few years the attention of the public has been drawn in another direction. Shrewd advertisers have assured the public that a panacea has been discovered almost equalling in potency the Elixir Vitæ. The inebriate was infused with new life and new aspirations, and he was assured that it would be impossible for him to recontract the habit.

Sufficient time has elapsed to allow us to judge of the merits and disadvantages of these systems. Many have been reformed indeed; but many not only have not been relieved, but have soon after taking the treatment become suicides or lunatics. Eleven cases reported by the *Medical Record* as inmates of one insane hospital, following this treatment, are too many to be explained by coincidence, or predisposition to insanity induced by alcohol.

Inebriates may be divided into three general classes.

1. The steady drinker, seldom or never becoming intoxicated.

2. The outgrowth of Class 1, associated with periods of intoxication. An effort to reform is made, but the physical deterioration so weakens the will that frequent excesses occur. These conditions become worse, and the

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debauches more frequent and more prolonged. A general breaking down of the whole system follows, and the victim dies directly from chronic alcohol poisoning, or ends his days in a mad-house.

3. The true periodical or dipsomaniac forms a separate type, in which the law of heredity is strikingly illustrated. A study of family history usually reveals in the ancestry either chronic alcoholism or some grave form of nerve disease. A congenital weakness of the nervous system in the offspring results. Once the desire for alcohol or other narcotic becomes developed, the effect is overpowering.

The action of alcohol on the system is that of a narcotic poison, capable of producing death, with symptoms of brain congestion and coma so closely simulating apoplexy that there is hardly a hospital in the country which does not contain records of cases in which the correct diagnosis was made only on the post-mortem table.

The immediate effect of a moderate amount of alcohol is a feeling of increased vigor. Ideas are increased in quickness, but lose in concentration. The system soon demands the stimulant more frequently. Abstinence is followed by suffering. The hand loses its steadiness, the brain its clearness. Insomnia adds to the drain on nervous forces, and the patient instinctively resorts for relief to the poison which is the direct cause of his condition. In time these symptoms become intensified, and evidences of chronic degenerations manifest themselves. Scarcely an organ in the body is exempt. Alcohol in the stomach retards digestion by paralyzing terminal nerves and by a chemical action on the pepsin of the gastric juice, produces changes in the secretions of the liver, and vitiates the processes throughout the whole alimentary tract, by causing a perverted action of the sympathetic nervous system. Partially digested food passing from the stomach to the intestines becomes subjected to abnormal fermentations. As a result, poisonous products designated by modern chemists as ptomaines and leucomaines are formed. Elimination is retarded by alcohol; consequently these products are absorbed into the system and an auto-poisoning results. The lungs and skin undertake to assist in relieving the system of effete material, as shown by the peculiarly disagreeable odor of breath and perspiration persisting for days after cessation from the use of alcohol. These patients will be found to suffer from chronic catarrh of most of the mucous membranes, notably the stomach, and chronic liver and kidney changes leading to cirrhosis and Bright's Disease. Degeneration and resultant weakening of the walls of blood vessels predispose to rupture (usually in the brain), producing apoplexy.

A few words as to the reasons of failure in the so-called "Gold Cures" may not be amiss. The attempt has evidently been made to supplant by another narcotic action the narcotic effect of the alcohol to which the patient has been accustomed. By this substitution it was hoped that the craving for stimulants might be destroyed. Symptoms described by the subjects of two of the most prominent "Cures" are almost identical. The parched mouth and throat, impaired vision from dilatation of the pupil, confusion of ideas, loss of memory, with the depression and suffering of the first few days while under the full effect of the drugs, show plainly to the physician that the train of symptoms is due to the action of an alkaloid derived from one of the more powerful vegetable narcotics. The system most widely known in this country has received the unqualified condemnation of the Society for the Study of Inebriety in London.

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The fatal mistakes in these cures have been of various natures. The first mistake is made by attempting to cure a chronic disease by the use of narcotic remedies and by the substitution method. The second is in putting a secret remedy into the hands of physicians who are ignorant of the formula they are using, and who are hired only because the law requires that the treatment shall be administered by a graduate in medicine.

The third mistake is in the indiscriminate selection of patients. Many apply for relief who are, in addition to inebriety, suffering from grave forms of organic disease. They are not fit subjects for such treatment until these troubles shall have received proper attention, except such cases as can receive appropriate treatment in addition to that suitable for the cure of the alcoholic disease. The number of patients becoming insane so soon after leaving these "Cures" is to be explained by this indiscriminate selection of cases. The writer has personally known of patients showing positive symptoms of general paresis who have applied for treatment for inebriety. To accept such cases is to invite disaster. In order to adopt a line of office treatment which shall be at all successful, it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that certain cases, if curable at all, are only so by prolonged residence in an institution under proper restrictions and in receipt of proper medical care. Under such conditions many otherwise hopeless cases may in time recover.

There remains a larger class, at most times capable of transacting business, and who, while unable to overcome the drink habit unassisted, seek aid to enable them to do so. The question arises: How shall we best treat them? Shall it be by the use of narcotics powerful enough to overbalance an intellect already on the border line of insanity? To answer is to condemn. This plan is illogical, and is undeserving the sanction of any honest medical man. An extensive experience with these cases has shown the writer that, if treated intelligently, on lines governing the physician in the treatment of chronic nervous troubles, satisfactory results may be obtained. The administration of remedies belonging to the tonic and restorative classes is, as a rule, promptly followed on the part of the patient by a voluntary cessation from the use of alcohol. The majority of cases will, if shown that the sudden withdrawal of stimulants does not produce the depression they dread, refrain from alcohol from the beginning of the treatment. With them, the improvement is almost immediate. Appetite is quickly restored, insomnia is replaced by restful sleep, tremor promptly disappears, in emaciated cases gain in weight is rapid, and general improvement in health goes on without interruption.

The writer contends that the physician who has the tact and patience to treat successfully chronic nervous diseases can treat inebriety successfully. The error is too frequently made (in practice, at least) of failing to recognize that we have here a real disease requiring both medicinal treatment and the use of those rarer mental and moral qualities on the part of the physician by which he inspires his patients with perfect confidence and trust.

E. F. ARNOLD, M. D.

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